

# ROMANCE NOTES



VOLUME III, NUMBER 1

AUTUMN, 1961

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## ROMANCE NOTES

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# ROMANCE NOTES

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## EQUIVOCAL ENGAGEMENT IN THE 1890's

By BONNER MITCHELL

IN SPITE OF the considerable controversy over *vers libres* and "obscure" poetry, the early enemies of Symbolism were not primarily concerned with questions of esthetics or of poetic technique. An examination of contemporary literary periodicals shows that the most violent attacks were concentrated upon the vague tenet of "art for art's sake", once associated with the Parnassians but later popularly considered to be the very essence of the newer doctrine. This reaction is understandable in the light of the manifestoes and other journalistic pronouncements which had floated on the surface of the movement. The eager young collaborators of *Le Décadent* had declared in its first number (10 avril, 1886): "Nous nous abstenons de politique comme d'une chose idéalement infecte et abjectement méprisable". The pages of this journal and of the more or less rival *Scapin* were often filled with joyous diagnoses of general decay and haughty declarations of contempt for all practical concerns. Occasional allusions to the necessity of preparing the advent of a new, healthier age went almost unnoticed in the prevailing iconoclastic atmosphere.

This apparent artistic irresponsibility gave rise to many individual expressions of indignation, including a lively article by the poet François Coppée ("Littérature", *Le Journal*, 3 décembre 1896, 1-2) whose argument culminates in the exclamation: "Au diable, l'art pour l'art! La vie! La vie!" It also led to the establishment of new

formal "schools" dedicated to various forms and degrees of literary *engagement*. Within five years after the public eruption of the Decadent-Symbolist movement, two of its leaders rejected the Ivory Tower in order to proclaim new doctrines. Anatole Baju, former editor of *Le Décadent*, published in *L'Événement* of April 13, 1891, under the title "La littérature de demain", an appeal for the creation of a Socialist literature. Dismissing the latter-day Symbolists as "des habiles qui veulent arriver"—a phrase which some critics might apply to all founders of ephemeral schools—this former Decadent denied that he had ever really envisaged any divorce between the artistic and the social consciences. He felt, on the contrary, that scientific progress and social reform would serve the cause of pure art by providing the masses with leisure to devote to intellectual pleasures. The wide gap between aristocratic and plebian literature, found necessary by the Symbolists, would eventually disappear. Baju's basic premises are summed up in two sweeping statements which seem highly vulnerable to the charge of *non-sequitur*:

Nous sommes des Socialistes, et si nous entrevoyons l'Art comme but suprême de la vie, c'est dans la Science que nous voulons la chercher, et non dans la Révélation.

L'avenir est à la science, à l'expérimentation, au chiffre. L'art social est donc la dernière formule vers laquelle tendent toutes les littératures (p. 2).

The author does not feel obliged to explain this apparently inherent literary connection between science and socialism. His manifesto contains, in truth, no direct recommendation that creative writers treat social problems in their works; he seems to have been much more interested in the need for "scientific" experimentation in poetic technique. This was indeed no new departure, since René Ghil, another early Decadent, had gained much attention in the late Eighties with his theory of Instrumentalist or Scientific poetry. It is difficult to see how such technical experimentation could have contributed to the triumph of socialism, and Baju's doctrine, which made little impression on the literary scene, must have seemed scarcely to merit its name.

Jean Moréas, a poet of considerable stature and a much more serious critic than Baju, had written the Symbolist manifesto published by the *Figaro* on September 18, 1886. Almost exactly five years



later, on September 13, 1891, the same journal published his letter announcing the neoclassical *Ecole romane*. As an admirer of the seventeenth century, Moréas could not logically urge that social or political causes be served in belles-lettres. Because, however, his whole doctrine was suffused with appeals to patriotic fervor and to pride in Latin culture—almost to racialism—the new movement was inevitably associated with a nationalistic foreign policy and, to a smaller extent, with conservatism in domestic political affairs. Charles Maurras, an original supporter, was to become a leading anti-Dreyfusist and, later, founder of the royalist *Action française*. Romanism appealed, in its extra-esthetic qualities, to people quite different from those who might have admired Baju's Socialism.

Neither of these movements was successful in challenging the dominant position of Symbolism and, several years after their appearance, a new school attempted to bring together all the "engaged" opponents of art for its own sake. Naturism, first proclaimed in 1895, made a greater public impression than either of its predecessors. Though virtually forgotten today, it may, indeed, have attracted more contemporary attention than any other movement between Symbolism and Surrealism. Its rather numerous adherents, of whom the chief were Saint-Georges de Bouhéliér, Maurice LeBlond, and Eugène Montfort, were not sparing in the promulgation of general statements of doctrine. They published their own *Revue naturiste*, and several other Parisian and provincial reviews were friendly to them. The influential *Plume* devoted its entire issue of November, 1897, to the new movement.

The Naturists professed a fervent interest in real life and ordinary people, which they opposed to the Symbolists' alleged preoccupation with fantasies and exceptional beings. As realists they were also sympathetic toward science, and their leader Bouhéliér foresaw a kind of social role for poetry in the popularizing and embellishment of new, scientifically discovered truths ("La crise littéraire", *Plume*, novembre 1897, 209). He often spoke admiringly of Zola (who was induced to contribute some kind words to the special issue of *La Plume*) and, though he was not eager to see public affairs debated in literature, he felt sure that the new, heroic poetry would have social repercussions:

Mais que personne ne s'y trompe. Quand les poètes nouveaux auront glorifié l'Homme, éclairé la mystérieuse force de sa pensée, lorsqu'ils lui auront rendu sa triomphale vaillance et ses vertus premières, les peuples, en présence d'un pareil spectacle, gémiront de leur esclavage ("La Révolution", *Plume*, 656).

Bouhéliér's political opinions were not in fact so clearly liberal as this statement implies. His *Figaro* manifesto (10 janvier, 1897) had contained a plainly disparaging remark about the "demagogue" Juarès and an apparently complacent statement that the new generation had little affection for republican institutions. The leftist tendencies of the whole group seem to have been at first abstract and idealized rather than concrete and practical.

Their early lack of fervor for down-to-earth socialist action may have stemmed in part from artistic scruples but it was almost certainly related as well to the other facet of the Naturists' *engagement*—their nationalism. Bouhéliér was as vehement in his denunciation of Romanticism and other forms of "foreign influence" as Moréas had been. His literary xenophobia had been expressed with astonishing ingenuousness in the *Figaro* letter: "En effet, l'antipathie que l'Allemagne et les étrangers inspirent à la masse populaire, nous la possédons également. Je pense que nous l'emploierons contre Ibsen, Wagner, Tolstoï". The school's oft-proclaimed affection for common people seems to have applied, at least in the beginning, only to the French common people. Bouhéliér saw humble courage and accomplishments more as proof of the soundness of the race than as an indication of the worth of the proletariat. Singing of "fêtes de travail" was, too, a sort of *pis-aller*, since the poet would frankly have preferred to find inspiration in heroic battles. Like many young Frenchmen of the day, he dreamed of a war of revenge against Germany.

This precarious double *engagement* became quite untenable during the Dreyfus Affair, in which the Naturists came resolutely to the support of Zola. Literary theorists—except, of course, the few who continued to advocate art for art's sake—could no longer be guilty of extreme political naïveté. Of the new, equally ephemeral doctrines which appeared in the remaining years before 1914, several included more or less fervent dedication to social reform, while at

least one, of neo-classical inspiration, had overtones of chauvinism. Socialists and nationalists were not again, however, solicited by a single program of literary *engagement*.

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## LAMB'S ROLE IN GREEN'S CARD TABLE SCENES

By MARILYN GADDIS ROSE

THREE KEY SCENES in Julian Green's first best-selling novel *Adrienne Mesurat* (Paris, 1927) occur at the card table. The heroine is a captive player. Green returns to the compulsory card game in his second play *L'Ennemi* (Paris, 1954), where two off-stage whist rubbers are so revelatory the characters must relive them for the audience. Bi-lingual Green's three published essays on Charles Lamb<sup>1</sup>, the exasperated cribbage player<sup>2</sup>, suggest a literary source for this narrative device. Taken together, the card table scenes and the essays illustrate assimilation from his Anglo-Saxon heritage.

In *Suite anglaise*, the definitive form of his interpretation of Lamb, he tells (pp. 83-84) how much John Lamb's senile insistence upon nightly cribbage sessions weighted his son's cross. Like the young essayist, both Adrienne and the heroine of *L'Ennemi* (Elisabeth de Silleranges) play cards every evening at the command of a tyrannical family member. The tyrants, Adrienne's father and Elisabeth's impotent husband, like Lamb's father, realize a satisfaction, bordering on sadism, in imposing their own boredom. Green observes that

<sup>1</sup> Pseud. David Irland, "Charles Lamb", *Vita*, janvier-février-mars, 1924; "La Vie mélancolique de Charles Lamb", *La Revue universelle*, XXVII (1926), 144-63; *Suite anglaise* (Paris, 1927), pp. 67-111.

<sup>2</sup> Lamb described the situation to Coleridge, December 2, 1796, scarcely three months after Mary fatally stabbed their mother: "I get home at night o'erwearied, quite faint, and then to cards with my father, who will not let me enjoy a meal in peace; but I must conform to my situation; and I hope I am, for the most part, not unthankful.

I am got home at last, and, after repeated games at cribbage, have got my father's leave to write awhile, with difficulty got it, for when I expostulated about playing any more, he very aptly replied, 'If you won't play with me, you might as well not come home at all'. The argument was unanswerable, and I set to afresh". Percy Fitzgerald, ed., *The Life, Letters and Writings of Charles Lamb*, I (London, 1895), 347.

Lamb was delivered from this agony only when Death dealt himself a hand. This is true for both the heroines.

However, Green takes the begrudged card game, only one of many undeserved irritations in Lamb's life, and makes it essential for plot and characterization. In the first bout of cards in *Adrienne Mesurat* (pp. 52-57), set in provincial France at the turn of the century, Adrienne's father brutally forces her to learn *trente-et-un*<sup>3</sup>. He is deliberately preventing her from leaving the house because he thinks she meets a lover in the evening. She is too distracted either to follow instructions or to conceal her distaste for playing. She faints after her father shakes her severely. The next time the family is shown at *trente-et-un* (pp. 77-78) she appears resigned to the new routine. Her acquiescence is a mask. The last round of *trente-et-un* (pp. 123-26) takes place on the eve of her sister's flight to a tuberculosis sanitarium. The next evening Adrienne, temporarily insane, pushes her belligerent father down the stairwell. Green further transmutes the literary datum in *L'Ennemi*. (This play is set in the Ile-de-France during the winter of 1785, about ten years before the card dilemma in Lamb's life.) During Act II, Elisabeth tells her lover Pierre, her husband's illegitimate half-brother, how the family's ceremonial whist games increase her engulfing sense of unreality (p. 122): "Comment peut-il être vrai que je vous aime et vrai que je tiens entre les mains ces morceaux de carton peints sur lesquels je dois fixer mon attention parce qu'un homme que je méprise a le droit d'exiger que je me livre à ce jeu ridicule?" The following evening Pierre congratulates her (Act III, p. 152) on escaping the game at which her husband *vents his frustration on the cards*. Distracted by this behavior, Pierre underestimates the vindictiveness of her former lover, who has him killed. In both these works, Death steps in, as he did for Lamb—and with far more cataclysmic results. The heroines can never come to terms with reality after the events which follow directly upon the card games.

Green in transmuting an historical fact enhances its properties. However, both his fidelity to the theme and his known interest in

<sup>3</sup> E. Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, IV (Paris, 1878), 2335: "Trente et un, jeu de hasard qui se joue avec des cartes; il consiste à compléter 31 points: qui passe perd; c'est un jeu de société".

Lamb as a personality point to his source. His expansion in French of an English essayist's aversion to cribbage is one more proof that his work is a product of two cultures.

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## TEXTURA DE UN VERSO DE MANUEL MACHADO

POR REYES CARBONELL

PARA MÍ LA mejor poesía de Manuel Machado es la que "alanceaba morados sombríos, atravesaba noches"<sup>1</sup>. Y de ella tres poemas sobresalen: *Adelfos*, *Castilla* y *Felipe IV*. Estas tres poesías son suficientes para hacernos recordar el nombre de un poeta.

En el presente trabajo me propongo estudiar la textura de un verso de Manuel Machado: el verso 15 de *Adelfos*.

Retrata Machado en esta poesía (*Adelfos*) la parte árabe del espíritu español (indolencia, elegancia fatalista e inmóvil), captándola de forma altamente insinuadora y sugestiva, imbuyéndola en el poema de tal forma que nos asalta por todas partes y tenemos que rendirnos ante su atracción. Y todo ello no es únicamente proyectado por las ideas, imágenes, etc., es decir, por lo visible en la superficie, sino también por lo que podríamos llamar *textura* del poema que, aunque no visible a simple vista, se hace patente cuando la examinamos a través del microscopio de nuestra intuición poética.

Examinemos ahora el verso 15 de *Adelfos*:

*Que las olas me traigan y las olas me lleven*

Leemos este verso y produce en nosotros una sensación de vaivén, del ir y venir de las olas. Pereza, lentitud, fatalismo están magistralmente expresados en ese verso. No se desea nada, nada se apetece; sólo el dejarse llevar, sin elección posible porque no la deseamos: que nos mezca el destino a su antojo. Sí; todo eso nos sugiere la lectura de ese verso. Su fuerza sugestivo-contagiosa es enorme. ¿Es todo ello únicamente consecuencia de los conceptos que se expresan en él? No; no es sólo eso. Si exponemos las mismas ideas de forma distinta,

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<sup>1</sup> Alonso, Dámaso: *Poetas españoles contemporáneos*, Editorial Gredos, Madrid, 1952, pág. 50.

la sensación no es la misma. Si, por ejemplo, decimos: "Que las olas me zarandeen de un sitio a otro", o "Que las olas me lleven de un lugar a otro", o "Que las olas me mezcan con su vaivén", la expresión no posee ya esa "llama que arde con apetito de arder más", como dijo San Juan de la Cruz. La idea está ahí, pero su valor en sugestión y contagio no es idéntico. ¿Por qué? Veamos:

Hay varias cosas que colman ese verso de las sugerencias que he esbozado más arriba. Hay en él matices, significantes parciales que refuerzan el concepto que en él se expresa y que imparten la idea general que el poema encierra.

El verso es un alejandrino dividido en dos hemistiquios y cada hemistiquio dividido en dos miembros (4 + 3):

Que las olas →	/	me traigan →	//
y las olas →	/	me lleven →	//

Tenemos, pues, cuatro miembros con sus correspondientes pausas; las pausas detrás de *olas* levísimas, casi imperceptibles; las pausas detrás de *traigan* y *lleven* más marcadas. Vemos, por lo tanto, elevación y descenso, inflexión ascendente y descendente de la voz, que cuadra tan bien con ese vaivén, con ese dejarse mecer<sup>2</sup>.

Asimismo, en el primer heptasílabo, tenemos la palabra *olas*, que se repite a la misma distancia en el segundo; repetición que ayuda también a esa melódica sensación de oscilación. Si cambiamos una palabra en el verso y decimos:

Que las olas me traigan  
y las *aguas* me lleven,

a pesar de que aún posee la sensación que he descrito, no es, sin embargo, tan acentuada.

Ahora, si observamos la imagen rítmica:

— — — ' — — — ' —  
— — — ' — — — ' —,

<sup>2</sup> Véase Alonso, Amado: *Materia y forma en poesía*, Edit. Gredos, Madrid, 1955, págs. 322 y siguientes, en donde se explica con detalle la inflexión ascendente y descendente de la voz y su influencia en el ritmo.



veremos que la posición equidistante de los acentos rítmicos (ritmo anapéstico) en cada hemistiquio matiza también esa sensación de ir y venir, de ondulación.

En cuanto a su vocalización rítmica:

— — — — — ó — — — — — á (i) — — — — —  
 — — — — — ó — — — — — é — — — — —,

comprobamos que también presta un ligero matiz coadyuvante a esa impresión ondulatoria con vocales (o) posteriores en el primer acento y anteriores (e, ai) en el segundo en los dos hemistiquios. La *a* del segundo acento en el primer hemistiquio es más cerrada que la *a* normal por ir seguida de una *yod* que le comunica su cerrazón; pero, aunque ello no haga completamente iguales a las dos vocales (*ai-e*), la ligera diferencia de cerrazón de esa *e* del segundo hemistiquio respecto a la *a(i)* del primero, ayuda aún más a que la sensación de vaivén sea más fina, más sutil, más insinuada.

Si examinamos la vocalización completa:

-e-a-o-a-e-ai-a-  
 -i-a-o-a-e-e-e-,

vemos que existe una armonía casi perfecta entre vocales anteriores y posteriores, entre la cerrazón y la abertura de las mismas. Otro tanto podríamos decir de las consonantes: existe también un equilibrio entre consonantes laterales, nasales, etc.:

q l s l s m t r g n  
 l s l s m ll v n

El balanceo entre las consonantes de un heptasílabo y las del otro es casi perfecto. La belleza musical y la fuerza sugestivo-contagiosa del conjunto reside precisamente en ese "casi". De haber existido un balanceo perfecto la musicalidad y también la fuerza expresiva del verso habría desaparecido. Probemos diversas combinaciones:

1. Que las olas me traigan, que las olas me traigan.
2. Que las olas me traigan, que las olas me lleven.
3. Que las olas me traigan y las olas me lleven.

En la primera combinación, con su equilibrio perfecto, se pierde completamente la sensación de vaivén y sólo da impresión de monotonía. En la segunda, la impresión de vaivén sí aparece, pero no con la fuerza de la tercera. Vemos, por lo tanto, que esas dos ligeras variantes (*y-lleven*) influyen, y mucho, en el efecto de vaivén. *Traigan* y *lleven* están equidistantes en el verso después de una serie de palabras idénticas (*las olas me*). *Que* e *y*, *traigan* y *lleven* tienen variantes, en cuanto al punto de articulación, que influyen en la cualidad sugestiva del verso, sobre todo la segunda pareja: *tra* y *lle* se pronuncian casi en el mismo punto de articulación; pero no la segunda sílaba de cada palabra: en *traigan* el punto de articulación marcha hacia atrás y hacia adelante, y en *lleven* hacia adelante y atrás:



Esto matiza, de forma sutilmente insinuadora, a todo el verso de esa susodicha sensación de vaivén.

En el verso que acabamos de analizar se sintetiza la idea general de toda la poesía *Adelfos*: indolencia, fatalidad, orgullosa pereza. Queda cumplida así la misión de toda poesía: ser la expresión sintética de un sentimiento expresado en forma tal que penetre la mente receptora del lector como un todo, global e inmediatamente; sin separación, temporal o espacial, de sus diversos ingredientes cuajados en transparencia maravillosa de diamante en el crisol de la intuición privilegiada del poeta.

LA VORÁGINE: A TOUCHSTONE OF  
CHARACTER

BY RICHARD J. CALLAN

LA VORÁGINE<sup>1</sup> is sometimes thought to be the first in a series of Spanish-American novels in which the destructive power of untrammelled nature engenders violence in the men who inhabit it and reduces them to the state of savagery. Inhuman acts of cruelty are habitually committed in the jungle, seemingly, for vicious or puerile reasons, or for no reason at all. To the main characters of the novel, however, these occurrences are but background material—albeit a background that presses close around, like the seething vegetation that besets them. On closer reading it becomes clear that, in spite of the passionate tone of his narrator, Rivera does not expound the theory that in attempting to conquer nature, man is himself conquered by it and transformed into a wild beast. We shall consider the principal characters, Arturo Cova and Clemente Silva, and some others, and see whether the humanized, malignant forest brutalized them or was the origin of their violence.

Silva went into this "vortex" with the relatively unselfish motive of finding his son, and during sixteen years he persisted in this resolution. Singleness of mind and inbred nobility kept him from degradation; beaten, tortured, treated like an animal, he did not lower himself to retaliation. His sense of personal dignity and his compassion for other victims of brute force were his identifying characteristics. According to Arana his very face proclaimed him to be honorable (p. 199). To cite but one case: in the *tambochas* episode the six men whom he is guiding, crazed by fear, attack him; later Silva thinks of them and their anguish, lost in the rain forest, and feels so deep a compassion that he resolves to console them, at least

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<sup>1</sup> José Eustasio Rivera, *La vorágine*, novena edición, Nueva York, 1929,

temporarily, by a lie (p. 256). Nights later, after they have abandoned him, he hears their shouts but does not answer for fear that in their madness they will kill him. Then he weeps with remorse for his lack of pity (p. 261). Yet with all his virtues Silva is not a superman; he is as weak as any other in the jungle and prey to its terrors. To him, as to the other feverish rubber tappers, the trees speak and gesticulate threateningly. He too has been half crazed with hunger, sickness, despair, and the hostility of nature. But his mind is always able eventually to surmount brute matter and regain control. The horrors of his jungle experience, far from having transformed him into a monster, have ennobled him. As he leaves Cova and the reader forever, he counsels, nay, beseeches the young lover to forgive Alicia, just as he, the offended father whose family name was stained, would now forgive the daughter who dishonored him: "¡Pero perdona a la pobre Alicia! ¡Hágalo por mí! Como si fuera María Gertrudis" (p. 295). Over the years and through the afflictions he had borne in the jungle, he had learned to rise above the norm of human justice contained in the Spanish honor system to the heights of superhuman forgiveness. The savage forest, like any other decisive trial in life, can break weak minds only. The strong are strengthened.

The change that Arturo Cova undergoes during his journey through this region confirms this idea in another way. The young poet's character is portrayed with originality and skill. A first-person narrator, he reveals his qualities and defects with convincing unwariness. He shows himself to be a vain exhibitionist, prone to dreams of grandeur, and at the same time he has a charm that can provoke friendship and devotion in other men. A weak and unbalanced nature, he is pervious to the nobility of Don Clemente and somewhat stabilized by association with him. But the unbridled life of the wild is too much for such a disposition; Cova falls prey to increasing violence during his jungle trip. In fact, that is what he foretells of himself in the first sentence of the tale: "...jugué mi corazón al azar y me lo ganó la Violencia" (p. 11). Shortly after his party enters the hot and rainy region, Cova succumbs to fevers from which he never fully recovers. He contemplates suicide, then toys with the idea of quietly killing his companions (p. 151); he entertains wild visions of revenge against Alicia and in a mood of exhilaration he exults over what he considers the beautiful drowning of two friends. The faith-

ful Franco, exasperated by this display of inhumanity, calls Cova detestable, unbalanced, theatrical (p. 173). The poet continues on his violent way and in his final triumph over his enemy, Barrera, he attacks him barehandedly like a wild man, bites the scoundrel's facewounds to bring blood, and pushes his head into the river for flesh-eating *caribes* to devour as he watches (p. 339).

But if Cova grows more violent as the book progresses, with fevers, hallucinations, and beri-beri to ravage his mind and body, the fact is that from the very beginning of his story he was inclined that way. Only a few miles out of Bogotá we see him pounding a man in the face with the heel of Alicia's shoe (p. 20); a week later in Casanare he planned to shoot Barrera on a mere suspicion (pp. 65-70). Before Cova ever thought of going into the *selva* he had mistreated Alicia, punched Griselda in the nose (p. 71), knocked down Millán, and had a fist-fight with Barrera over a dice game (p. 77). Obviously in his case it was not the jungle that engendered his violence—it merely nurtured it and provided occasions that released it.

Some of the minor characters support the idea that the jungle is not the cause of human depravity, but that it tends to aggravate defects which already exist. Ramiro Estévez, who left Bogotá merely to forget a girl, had seen and suffered many horrors in the green hell, but he manifested no traits of savagery. Balbino Jácomo, the cripple, had devised a means of helping the rubber slaves at El Encanto, while seeming to work closely with the bosses. Nor were Cova's companions, Franco, Correa, Mesa, brutalized. Franco's motive in accompanying Cova, to vindicate his honor in connection with Griselda's flight (p. 124), closely parallels the poet's. Although he too is caught up in this nightmare he continues an essentially unchanged personality; he suffers trials as challenging as Cova's but remains steady, patient, dependable. On the other hand, the brutal Petardo Lesmes, who sold his friends into slavery, had come to this natural labyrinth to hide from justice (pp. 269-271). For the escaped convict, El Cayeno, the dense forest was an ideal location in which to exercise his ruthless greed with impunity. We do not know what first brought Barrera, Funes and other tyrants there, but Silva gives some of the reasons men have for coming to that region: "...algunos solicitan enganche sólo para robarse lo que reciben, o salir a la selva para matar a algún

enemigo o sonsacar a sus compañeros para venderlos en otras barracas" (p. 189). Accordingly, many of the rubber workers brought violence into the jungle with them.

Spanish American writers who, inspired by *La vorágine*, have taken a pessimistic view of man faced with the untamed nature of this vast continent, "ese sentimiento trágico de la Naturaleza"<sup>2</sup>, have not followed Rivera's interpretation of the problem according to his book. The conclusion to be drawn from *La vorágine* is that for each individual who ventures into it the jungle is a supreme test, bringing out the best or the worst in him. If he is a man of character and ideals, as was Clemente Silva, he will grow morally stronger in his struggle against the forces of nature. If he is not, he is likely to degenerate to the level of the primitive savagery that surrounds him.

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<sup>2</sup> Arturo Uslar-Pietri, *Breve historia de la novela hispanoamericana* (Caracas, 1954), 122.

REMARKS ON THE FORM OF  
*LA GLORIA DE DON RAMIRO*

By NED DAVISON

LA GLORIA DE DON RAMIRO has been the victim of more stylistic analysis than perhaps any other Spanish American novel. Certainly no other has awakened the enormous disparity of opinion that characterizes criticism of this work. From the incisive page-by-page condemnation of Martín Aldao to the measured catalogue of Amado Alonso and the generous admiration of Zum Felde there emerges a variety of critical response which offers sanctuary for every reader's judgment<sup>1</sup>. It is undeniable that a reading of *La gloria de don Ramiro*

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<sup>1</sup> Martín Aldao, *El caso de "La gloria de don Ramiro,"* nueva edición, corregida y aumentada (Buenos Aires, 1943). Aldao is very detailed with regard to style, but his observations on structure are wholly descriptive and offer no real explanation for the deficiencies:

"Dice el señor Larreta... que no fué su propósito aglomerar, a la manera de un coleccionista, chismes de museo. Es ésta, sin embargo, la impresión que, en general, deja la lectura de su obra, *La gloria de don Ramiro* es una serie de cuadros inconexos o poco menos. Hay en ella muchas páginas cargadas de colores chillones, muchos episodios, gran alarde de erudición barata y con frecuencia falsa, pero ausencia casi total de interés dramático, a pesar de los esfuerzos que, por despertarlo, hace el autor...

La trama novelesca, de escasa importancia en los nueve primeros capítulos, decae lastimosamente en el X. Los capítulos XIV a XX atraen la atención del lector; pero, terminada la aventura morisca, el libro, con su maraña de digresiones político-religiosas, se torna muy pesado. Procura en balde el autor reavivar el interés con el melodramático capítulo en que Ramiro comete sus dos crímenes. El principio de la parte tercera, con la extemporánea historia del espadero y la baedekeriana descripción de Toledo, hace que el libro languidezca nuevamente. El auto de fe es un recurso de novela histórica del cual se ha abusado, y en el libro del señor Larreta fatiga por lo difuso...

La intriga, o lo que hace de tal, se desarrolla con lentitud desesperante. Para dar un paso hay que absorber muchas páginas inútiles. Todo el capítulo V tiene por exclusivo objeto presentarnos, en las últimas líneas, a Beatriz. En el IX gasta el autor doce páginas de seudoteología y seudofilosofía para mostrarnos, en la décimatercera, a Ramiro, que deshoja su doncellez con la campa-

is frequently accompanied by a certain sense of dissatisfaction, an uneasiness over the disparate effects of the narration and an impatience with what seems to be a distortion of the subject matter. Though a similar disquietude attends the reading of most historical novels and reasserts the inherent difficulty of satisfying the requirements of fiction and historicity without excessive violation of either<sup>2</sup>, the awkwardness of Larreta's novel is at least in part the result of faulty structure. The negative effects of this structure have been frequently described, but, to my knowledge, the causes themselves have not been stated or examined. In my judgment the weakness may be largely accounted for—excluding considerations of style—in three aspects of composition, namely, the author's approach to his materials, the effect of this approach on the movement or action of the novel, and finally, the selection of the materials as it is influenced or determined by his aesthetic attitude.

This attitude is compounded of a uniquely nineteenth-century approach to history and a specifically *décadent* conception of experience. Larreta leads us to expect a spiritual survey of the Spain of Philip II by his conscientious inclusion of varied elements of sixteenth-century society. As the novel itself demonstrates, his real interest lies in the sensations which these elements provide for the *fin de siècle* aesthete. He is not particularly concerned with the inte-

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nera Aldonza. El X sólo sirve para aclarar el siguiente, y todo éste y la mitad del XII preparan únicamente la misión que ha de encomendar el canónigo a Ramiro. Los XXI a XXIII son ajenos a la novela; y en la segunda parte, en el capítulo de la muerte de Bracamonte, parece que no se trata sino de mostrar a Ramiro saludando la *pálida testa* (del decapitado) *muerta de súbito*" (pp. 24-25).

Amado Alonso, *Ensayo sobre la novela histórica. El modernismo en "La gloria de don Ramiro"* (Buenos Aires, 1942).

Alberto Zum Felde, *Índice crítico de la literatura hispanoamericana, Tomo II, La narrativa* (México, 1959), pp. 385-394.

<sup>2</sup> Alonso, *op. cit.* (see first essay). Also, Zum Felde, *op. cit.*: "La dificultad, y acaso la falsedad íntima, insalvable, de la novela histórica en general, es que el escritor contempla y valora el motivo con su conciencia tan distante y distinta de aquélla que dio sentido a la época que procura evocar. Su evocación es así casi siempre algo exterior, fiel en sus formas, pero ajena al verdadero espíritu de aquella vida, que no puede comprenderse por vía sapiente, sino intuitiva, por esa afinidad espiritual que reside, quizás, a veces, en sutiles atavismos de sangre. Tal es precisamente el caso de Enrique Larreta, cuyo empaque psicológico de antiguo hidalgo hispano se viste con la modernidad de su cultura francesa" (p. 286).



llectual, philosophical, political, or even artistic nature of the period he portrays. When he examines these elements his achievement is limited to the picture of the sensations which attend the characters' involvement in these spheres of experience. The character of Vargas Orozco, Ramiro's tutor and confessor, for example, is ostensibly dramatized by means of the spiritual conflict and religious fanaticism which absorb his energies and determine his personality. Most of the literary possibilities of the character and his conflicts are sacrificed, however, to the elaborate evocation of sensual experience. The religious aspects of his being, and by extension of the period, are merely a support for the delicate re-creation of a chiaroscuro of sensation. Though brief quotation is unsatisfactory as a demonstration of this, since the orientation of the author becomes explicit only through its cumulative effect, the following description of the cleric's anxieties may serve as evidence:

Su espíritu de mortificación era grande y su severidad de costumbres tanto más meritoria cuanto que se veía continuamente acosado por tenaces tentaciones, que el Demonio hacía surgir con preferencia de los mismos pasajes de la Escritura, revestidas de suntuosidad y desprendiendo un olor raro y voluptuoso de Oriente.

Noche y día rondaba el Tentador en torno de su alma... Pero era, sobre todo, durante la noche, en el lecho, antes de dormirse cuando el lectoral libraba sus combates acerbos. Un mismo súcubo, terrible de sedosidad y de hermosura, se deslizaba junto a él, bajo las mantas, haciéndole correr por sus carnes un goce diabólico, que los rezos continuados no lograban desvanecer...

¡Qué batallas, qué luchas aquéllas! Mientras el espíritu clamaba de horror, la carne traidora se refocilaba en un baño de deleite... Ora le ensayaba sobre su cráneo de sacerdote la mitra demasiado estrecha o el capelo demasiado justo; ora la triple tiara pontificia, que parecía fabricada en un todo para su cabeza. Una aclamación de multitud universal estallaba a sus pies, y sentíase flotar, excelso y rígido, sentado en un trono dorado (pp. 96-97)<sup>3</sup>.

The persistent use of philosophical, psychological, aesthetic<sup>4</sup>, and other elements for the sake of their sensationist possibilities, causes

<sup>3</sup> For this and subsequent quotations, see, Enrique Larreta, *La gloria de don Ramiro*, Edición conmemorativa con ilustraciones del autor (Buenos Aires, Rosso, n. d.), 491 pp.

<sup>4</sup> The art collection and taste of Don Alonso, Beatriz' father, suggest an appreciation more akin to Huysmans than to Garcilaso (see, Ch. V, Primera parte).

these elements to be always secondary and explains why we are left with a feeling of incompleteness. We expect development of these subjects and get none. In the case of Vargas Orozco, for example, Larreta never really returns to the temptations cited above; they are only superficially related to subsequent appearances of the cleric and therefore remain detached from the character. They become a sort of isolated theme which is never resolved. Other suggestions are treated in a similarly fragmentary manner.

In order to overcome the lack of unity that results from this tangential use of aspects of culture or history, Larreta has attempted to use Ramiro to bind his material together. This novel has scarcely more plot than a picaresque narration. There is almost no real complication or interweaving of actions. The episodes are held together principally by Ramiro's presence, and the relationship between the various elements of the reality being described relies mainly on Ramiro's involvement and the peculiar and precise sensations which they arouse in him. The beginning chapters are remarkable, in fact, in their lack of related action; the characters and settings are virtually motionless, and there is almost no real transition from one scene to another. Larreta seems almost to have replaced the temporal qualities of narration with the spatial attributes of plastic art<sup>5</sup>, so circumscribed are the images:

El niño, apoyado ahora en la rodilla del antiguo soldado, jugaba con su espada, como de costumbre, tanteando los filos, curioseando las manchas de la hoja o blandiéndola ante sí con infantil arrogancia; pero, al advertir la expresión pensativa del hombre, hincó el acero en el piso y, apoyando ambas manos en la gruesa empuñadura, se dispuso a escucharle (p. 34).

The significant effect toward which the various motions point in this passage is that of the stylized posture of the boy. This sort of scene is repeated regularly and is clearly Parnassian in technique. Within the individual scene there is considerable movement, but it is a movement that is enclosed. It is circumscribed by the action which regularly returns to its starting point—here, the figure of the

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<sup>5</sup> His descriptions of setting demonstrate more exactly, of course, this pictorial technique, and his use of paintings as a source of inspiration for his characters and settings is well known. His own experiments in painting further attest his interest in visual interpretation.

boy. In this regard it is closer to pictorial movement, that is, the suggested movement in a painting which is self-contained, rather than the continuous, transitional, and relatively unbroken movement of narration. Even *discontinuity*, one of the techniques for depicting mental time or "flow" of consciousness, retains the narrative sense of motion since it is implied by the author's establishing an intentional irregularity. The fragmentary effect of *La gloria de don Ramiro*, which is particularly acute in the first part, is of a different order. The scenes or moments tend to be complete within themselves, that is, each has a kind of structural autonomy, a finish and balance that is independent of time-flow outside the movement of the scene itself. Because of this they lack temporal elements that extend adequately into other scenes and are therefore usually experienced in somewhat spatial terms.

The sensations that the author examines are of course not confined to the visual; they are extremely varied—tactile, olfactory, kinesthetic, etc.—and reflect a sensationist interest current among the *modernistas*. Larreta usually contrives to combine these various sensations to create a complex and almost wholly connotative statement on the particular aspect of Spanish life with which he happens to be dealing at a given moment. The bathing scene in the Moorish quarter (pp. 154-158), or the *auto de fe* (Ch. III, *Segunda parte*) exemplify the patently sensationist approach to major episodes.

This limited use of events, characters, and settings, all of which are regularly chosen for what they will provide in terms of sensation, leads to problems of integration and narrative logic, but perhaps a more difficult obstacle is posed by the nature of sensation itself. The author's choice of sensation as his subject gives rise to immediate problems. Its tenuous and ephemeral quality precludes an easily sustained focus on its characteristics. Because it is dependent upon concrete or overt occurrences, that is, a response to some other happening, belief, or perception, it is necessary to accumulate scenes in order to maintain the intensity. The moment the sensations inherent in a situation have been evoked they begin to vanish and can be recaptured only by their re-creation in a new scene or episode. This requires not only numerous scenes but also great variety in order to avert tedium and sameness; furthermore, the action of the narration

is necessarily arrested in order to concentrate upon the sensual. The technique is accumulative also, within the individual scene. There is a layering of exotic elements, perfumes, colors, textures, and actions—body movements, for example—which suggest the atmosphere of sensation that the author wishes to create. The result is a kind of vertical organization, a piling up of objects and elements that help convey the mood sought. This mode of composition unfortunately leads to interference in the movement of the novel. One experiences a general effect of fragmentation as the result of this clustering of loosely linked scenic units.

The problem of continuity is one that is only imperfectly resolved through the device of Ramiro himself. Only when he is engaged in violent action does the novel escape from the tableau-like quality, and even these scenes of high action are to a degree rather static, partly because they, like most of Larreta's materials, are fragments taken from sixteenth-century art rather than complexes of sixteenth-century Spanish reality. The scenes of dueling, Ramiro's rendezvous with Beatriz, mistaken identity and disguises, the conspiracy against the Crown<sup>\*</sup> these are all drawn from Golden Age dramatic literature or from nineteenth-century historical fiction. This is literature made almost wholly out of other art. A work twice removed from reality, it is indeed a re-creation, not of sixteenth-century Spain, but of a sensationist interpretation of that Spain derived from Larreta's systematic examination of its painting, literature, and architecture. The novel is essentially the sum of numerous almost self-contained units of action, setting, and character portraiture which, because of the narrow sensationist interest of the author, never really becomes molded into an artistic whole.

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\* The fact that this conspiracy was drawn from the archives of Avila does not alter the fact that the treatment reflects nineteenth-century techniques.

SILVA'S NOCTURNO AND BECQUER'S *EL*  
*RAYO DE LUNA*

By JOHN F. KNOWLTON

CRITICS GENERALLY ACCEPT the fact that the Colombian poet José Asunción Silva was influenced by the works of Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer. Silva's friend, B. Sanín Cano, for example, has this to say: "Se ha dicho que las primeras poesías de Silva se inspiraron en la obra de Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer. Es posible. Las *Rimas* del bardo andaluz, como un contagio, estaban por entonces en todos los labios de los aficionados y las ingenuas."<sup>1</sup>

Sanín Cano's comments are characteristic of the critics' approach to the relationship between the two writers in that he does not mention Bécquer's *Leyendas*. However, on comparing the first, second, tenth, and eleventh lines of Silva's famous "Nocturno":

Una noche,  
una noche toda llena de murmullos, de perfumes y de músicas de alas;  
y la luna llena  
por los cielos azulosos, infinitos y profundos esparcía su luz blanca;

with the fourth paragraph of the second part of one of Bécquer's *Leyendas*, "El rayo de luna":

Era de noche; una noche de verano, templada, llena de  
perfumes y rumores apacibles, y con una luna blanca y  
serena en mitad de un cielo azul, luminoso y transparente.

striking similarities are seen, both in vocabulary and content.

Furthermore, there seems to be a metrical similarity between the two passages. The four-syllable "phrases", with accent on the third

<sup>1</sup> B. Sanín Cano, *Letras colombianas* (México, 1944), p. 186.



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## LE SUCCES INEXPLIQUÉ DE *LA FOLIE DU SAGE* DE TRISTAN

Par CLAUDE K. ABRAHAM

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SELON MAHELOT, RARES sont les moments aussi avantageux à la tragi-comédie que ne le sont les années 1633 à 1636. Après cette dernière date, on note un déclin rapide, dû surtout à la séparation des genres (même le *Cid* est appelé "tragédie" dans les éditions de la fin du siècle). *La Folie du sage* est publiée pour la première fois en 1645, année de la publication de quatre autres tragi-comédies nouvelles. En 1649, *La Folie* est publiée pour la quatrième fois. Cette année-là, il n'y a que deux tragi-comédies nouvelles. Les réimpressions sont encore plus rares. Pourquoi cette popularité d'une pièce en présence d'une tendance qui semblerait condamner à l'échec toute tentative de l'éditeur? C'est ce que nous essayerons d'expliquer.

On a beaucoup parlé de Tristan, mais peu de sa tragi-comédie. Loin d'être sa meilleure pièce, elle est peut-être la plus intéressante quant à la lumière qu'elle jette sur Tristan et son milieu. Bernardin, dans son oeuvre monumentale sur Tristan, accorde près de vingt pages à la pièce, mais ces pages peuvent être réduites à deux ou trois si l'on en soustrait les citations et les résumés. Lancaster en parle un peu aussi mais, comme Bernardin, ne présente aucune allusion historique, aucun parallèle. Il est toujours dangereux de tracer un parallèle entre une pièce et le milieu dont elle sort. Pourtant, ce n'est qu'à l'aide d'un tel parallèle que *La Folie du sage* se fait voir dans sa pleine envergure. Le style libre, le manque de base historique des personnages et du milieu, toutes les qualités intrinsèques d'une tragi-comédie devraient transplanter le lecteur en plein rêve. *La Folie* semble vouloir mettre cette loi à l'épreuve. Les allusions aux événements contemporains foisonnent et c'est peut-être ce qui a causé la popularité si grande mais si passagère de la pièce.

Après une dispute entre Richelieu et Gaston, ce dernier s'aigrit, quitte la cour et va se réfugier à Orléans en janvier 1631. Le 11 mars, voyant que cette action se meut en levée de boucliers, Louis XIII se met à la tête d'une armée et poursuit son frère qui va chercher asile à Nancy chez le duc de Lorraine. Le 3 janvier 1632 Gaston épouse Marguerite de Vaudemont, sœur du jeune duc de Lorraine. Assiégé, à bout de forces, ce dernier doit se soumettre aux volontés du roi et force Gaston à quitter la Lorraine. Gaston va à Bruxellas d'où, avec l'aide des Espagnols, il envahit la France et joint ses forces à celles de Montmorency. Après la défaite de Castelnaudary, Montmorency est décapité et Gaston s'avoue défait. Mais il part pour Bruxelles et au mois de juin 1633 Louis XIII apprend que Gaston est en relations secrètes avec la Lorraine. Il assiège Nancy et le 4 septembre Marguerite, craignant pour sa vie, se déguise en homme et s'enfuit pour rejoindre son mari. Louis XIII essaye en vain de faire annuler le mariage sous prétexte de rapt. Gaston, pour montrer sa bonne foi, épouse Marguerite une deuxième fois et fait même approuver ce mariage par le Pape et par les docteurs de Louvain. Mais, vers la fin de l'année, Gaston reçoit une défaite après l'autre et, abandonné par ses alliés, s'avoue vaincu. Il rentre en France, laissant sa femme à Bruxelles. Ce n'est qu'après la mort de Louis XIII que les époux seront réunis, le 18 mai 1643. C'est probablement cette même année qui voit la première représentation de *La Folie du sage*.

Après ce court résumé des faits historiques, voici en quelques mots l'argument de la pièce. Le roi de Sardaigne aime Roselie, la fille d'Ariste, un des seigneurs de sa cour, et veut en faire sa maîtresse. Si cette jeune fille est indigne d'être reine, elle vaut trop pour n'être que maîtresse. Le roi fait part de cet amour au père et à l'amant secret, Palamède, favori du roi. Palamède, voulant décourager le roi ne parvient qu'à changer cette passion en vrai amour; le roi se décide à épouser Roselie. Il charge Palamède d'en aller porter la nouvelle à Roselie qui, croyant son amant infidèle, veut mourir plutôt que d'accepter un homme qu'elle n'aime pas. Le roi, apprenant la mort de Roselie, accuse Palamède de l'avoir tuée. La sagesse d'Ariste est ébranlée par ces chocs, et c'est cette folie qui donne son nom à la pièce. Au moment où Palamède va passer à l'échafaud, le roi apprend que Roselie —comme la Juliette de Shakespeare— est simplement endormie. Le père, la voyant résolue à mourir si elle ne peut



vivre avec Palamède, prend le parti de cette franche vertu. Se voyant seul contre tous, le roi surmonte sa jalousie et bénit les amoureux.

La dédicace à Marguerite, la femme de Gaston est pleine d'allusions aux difficultés qui ont été mises entre elle et son mari lors de leur mariage ainsi que d'allusions aux récents lauriers couronnant Gaston. Il est assez facile de voir, dans les amours contrariés et enfin exaucés de Roselie, ceux de Marguerite. Le roi, dans la pièce et en réalité, s'oppose à l'union en question. Les raisons, bien sûr, sont différentes: il serait difficile d'attribuer une passion quelconque à Louis XIII, alors que Tristan nous peint un monarque violent et volage. Les personnages ne sont pas d'un relief égal. Le caractère du roi n'est qu'esquissé, vague. A part sa passion, il est indéfini. Palamède, au contraire, est forcé de soumettre sa passion à l'obéissance. Il ne peut soulever un pays entier contre son roi pour une cause aussi personnelle, mais il n'en reste pas moins amoureux. En ceci, il ressemble à Gaston qui, loin d'être dans la situation précaire de Palamède, n'a pas peur de fomenter une guerre civile pour défendre son amour. Quant à Roselie, qui est prête à tout sacrifier pour l'homme qu'elle aime, c'est une des grandes amoureuses du siècle, rôle qui sied à Marguerite mieux qu'à toute autre dame de la cour en France. Il y a donc des rapprochements plutôt que des parallèles entre les personnages historiques et ceux de la pièce. *La Folie* n'est pas une pièce à clef mais plutôt un miroir dans lequel le lecteur et le spectateur ont pu voir des allusions à certains faits et à certaines personnes de leur connaissance. On doit se rendre compte de la gratuité d'un seul parallèle, mais cette gratuité est amoindrie par chaque exemple. Ces exemples sont assez faciles à trouver.

Quand Canope, confidente de Roselie, parlant de Palamède, dit:

La Fortune vous suit, et vous voyez encore  
Qu'un Seigneur accomply vous sert et vous adore,  
Que l'Amant le mieux fait qui soit dessous les Cieux  
A soumis son merite au pouuoir de vos yeux;  
Et que tout contribué à l'heureux hymenée  
Qui ne fera qu'un sort de vostre destinée. (II, 1)

le lecteur ou le spectateur peut voir en cela une allusion à l'amour de Gaston pour Marguerite. La réponse de Roselie amoindrit le doute:

Je crains avec sujet que de sa Majesté  
Ce dessein d'himenée ait esté rebuté.  
Il en a fait refus avec quelque rudesse,  
Et mon pere en a pris cette grande tristesse. (II, 1)

paroles qui nous rappellent le désarroi dans lequel la colère royale avait jeté le duc de Lorraine. Roselie ne voit que malheur dans l'intervention:

Et si i'ay resolu de te garder ma foy,  
Si ie ne puis aymer tout autre amant que toy,  
Quel pleige puis-je auoir en ce iour deplorable  
Qui me puisse empescher de viure miserable? (II, 3)

La réaction de Palamède ressemble beaucoup à celle de Gaston. Quelle sera sa réponse à une déclaration si franche? La révolte?

Feray-ie en vn instant par toute vne Prouince  
Reuolter des sujets contre leur propre Prince? (II, 3)

Ou sera-ce la fuite?

Quand nous entreprendrions vne fuite secrete,  
Auons-nous seulement aucun lieu de retraite  
Où ce Roy qui s'est fait en tous lieux redouter  
N'ait la facilité de nous persecuter?  
Vous feray-ie embarquer pour vne fin tragique?  
Il regne vn vent du Nord qui porte vers l'Affrique,  
Et qui ne nous promet en cette auersité  
Qu'un naufrage, ou du moins qu'une captiuité. (II, 3)

C'est vers ce dernier choix que Gaston penchera, car c'est à la cour austère de l'Infante Isabelle à Bruxelles qu'il ira chercher asile. Nous savons que Gaston a enfin abandonné cet asile. Palamède, n'arrivant pas à se donner la mort, en fait de même et va se prosterner devant le roi de la façon la plus humble.

Tristan a servi Gaston pendant de longues années sans recevoir de grandes récompenses. La dédicace à Marguerite montre qu'il espère un meilleur sort auprès de la femme de son maître. Gaston a joué le rôle de mécène aussi mal que son rôle d'amant. Son amour pour Marguerite a été constant, mais peu ardent. Si Marguerite est

une amoureuse extraordinaire au dix-septième siècle, Gaston n'est que trop ordinaire. Dans la pièce, Tristan a laissé à Marguerite son rôle supérieur. Le dernier acte est tout à elle, montrant son âme dans toute sa grandeur. Roselie, comme Marguerite, est consciente de la différence qui existe entre son amour et celui de Palamède: "Il m'a donné son cœur, il a reçu ma foy", dit-elle. Et comme Marguerite, elle voit la volonté royale se mettre entre elle et l'homme qu'elle aime. Ayant à choisir entre le devoir et l'amour, elle opte pour ce dernier, rebelle envers son roi et son père. Devant sa résistance, exprimée dans une des plus belles scènes de la pièce (V, 2), le père s'incline. Pourtant, ce père, comme le duc de Lorraine, prévoit les troubles que cette décision causera, mais son parti est pris. A la fin, le roi de Sardaigne, comme le roi de France, doit s'avouer vaincu devant un tel amour.

La pièce fut jouée déjà en 1642 ou en 1643, moment de l'avènement de Gaston à la lieutenance-générale du royaume. Entre ces dates et 1649, date du siège de Paris, Gaston parvient au Zénith de sa gloire. Une quantité énorme de Mazarinades le louent. Lors de la maladie du jeune roi —Louis XIV— on chante les louanges du "roi Gaston". Au milieu de cette clameur publique, deux besoins se font sentir: celui de vanter les prouesses passées de Gaston, et celui de masquer sous de nobles sentiments les escapades du jeune rebelle. *La Folie du sage* satisfait ces deux besoins, d'où sa popularité. La Fronde terminée, le roi rétabli, Gaston va s'enterrer à Blois. Il est vite oublié. La pièce aussi.

LE MALADE IMAGINAIRE AND GRANDVAL'S LE  
VALET ASTROLOGUE

By SPIRE PITOU

ALTHOUGH THE INFLUENCE of *Le malade imaginaire* (1673) upon subsequent plays has been indicated<sup>1</sup> and the indebtedness of Grandval's unpublished *Le valet astrologue* (1710) to earlier works has been described<sup>2</sup>, the similarity between Molière's composition and the latter work has not been observed. Yet, *Le malade imaginaire* would seem to be the prototype of Grandval's play by reason of the especially close correspondences between them in structure and in certain other details.

It will be remembered that Molière's Cléante disguises himself as a music teacher in order to gain entry into Argan's home so that he may pursue his courtship of Angélique and thwart her father's plans to marry her to Thomas Diafoirus (I, 5; II, 2). In precisely the same fashion, even to the fact that both heroines are named Angélique, Grandval's Clitandre assumes the position of "maître à chanter" in Oronte's household in order to be near Angélique and to help her circumvent her father's efforts to marry her to M. Nigaud. Thus, each play relies heavily upon the ruse of a suitor disguised as a music teacher gaining access to the family circle in order to win the hand of a girl pledged by her father to a second wooer who is unacceptable to her.

The resemblance between *Le malade imaginaire* and *Le valet astrologue* is not limited to the congruency of these eight characters in their quadrilateral plots since their congruency promotes scenes and lines which, while they do not always present textual parallels, beget comic effects that are strongly cognate or even identical. Mo-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Œuvres de Molière*, ed. Eugène Despois et Paul Mesnard, vol. IX (Paris, 1925), pp. 239-242.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *RN*, II (1960), pp. 133-136.

lière's Angélique employs the device of proclaiming her love to Cléante by means of a song when she finds herself inhibited by Argan's presence (II, 5); Grandval's Angélique sings to Clitandre of her affection for him in the presence of M. Nigaudet (sc. 4). While it is true that the father is present in one instance and the suitor is the witness in the other case, the confrontation of the characters, their reactions to the situation, and the quality of the ensuing comedy are of the same brand. Too, after the song, each dramatist employs dramatic irony: Argan asks, "Et que dit le père à tout cela?"; Finette queries M. Nigaudet, "Les amants font l'amour en musique, le sçavez-vous, M. Nigaudet?".

A third tangency between the comedies is lodged in the portrayal of the two unwelcome suitors: each is, to borrow Molière's phrase, "frais émoulu du collège" and still nesting under a parental wing although M. Nigaudet has learned not medicine but "à boire, à fumer, à prendre du tabac, à jouer aux cartes, aux dez, au billard, aux... Oh!" (sc. 4). Thomas Diafoirus is described as "un grand benêt" (II, 5); his counterpart is labelled "un sot benêt" (sc. 4). Too, in spite of his awkwardness, each is eager to make love to his betrothed. Molière's suitor avers that "Cette inclination si nécessaire... est déjà toute née en moi, et je n'ai pas besoin d'attendre davantage" (II, 6); Nigaudet is equally ready to declare to Angélique, "C'est vous qui êtes mon inclination, mais vous serez bientôt autre chose qui vous donnera des privautés" (sc. 4). In addition to this unseemly haste upon the part of the suitors and their assertions that they possess the required "inclination," Angélique moves quickly to discourage her suitor's promptitude in each play. Also, a second restraint upon their impetuosity is furnished by Argan and Oronte, who explain patiently to their impatient sons-in-law-to-be that such matters are not to be hurried (*loc. cit.*).

A final similarity between the two plays is induced by the fact that Argan and Oronte are addicted in their old age to pseudo-sciences. The vocabulary is medical in one instance and astrological in the other, of course, since Argan scrutinizes prescriptions and bills whereas Oronte keeps his eyes turned to the sky or his almanach. But once again the comic effects achieved are much the same, because the two monomaniac fathers have become so completely the victims of their fixations that they insist initially that their sons-in-law be ex-

perts in the arts they cherish. Also, their mania is the agent of their undoing since they are persuaded to change their plans for their daughter's marriages by imposters disguised as practitioners of medicine and astrology respectively. In *Le malade imaginaire*, Toinette defies her master and joins forces with Angélique just as Grandval's Finette aids her mistress in promoting Oronte's deception. A more subtle point of *rapprochement* might be discerned in the fact that Argan and Oronte are ridiculous when immersed in their fixations but quite astute when obliged to draw up a legal document or moved to ponder the outcome of their daughters' projected marriages.

It would seem reasonable, then, to conclude that Grandval's *Le valet astrologue* owes its central situation, some of its character portrayal, and an occasional tone of speech to *Le malade imaginaire* in addition to being in debt to Corneille's *Le feint astrologue* (1650).

## A NEGLECTED EARLY DOCUMENT IN THE QUERELLE DES ANCIENS ET DES MODERNES

By WILLIAM R. QUINN

THE TWO STANDARD works on the *Querelle*<sup>1</sup> make no mention of one of the earliest expressions of opinion, important because of its intrinsic value and also because of its fame. Various claims have been expressed as to who first took a stand in the quarrel. Rigault<sup>2</sup> says it was Boisrobert who began the war with his speech before the Academy on February 26, 1635 on the subject *Défense du théâtre*. Petit de Julleville<sup>3</sup> says it was Théophile de Viau in his *Fragments d'une histoire comique* (1623). E. Roy<sup>4</sup> claims that Charles Sorel was one of the early writers on the subject in the *Berger extravagant* (1627). Obviously, none of these works was written consciously as a forerunner of the great quarrel of the second half of the century. Probably none of the works mentioned was as well known as one published in 1627, but certainly known in manuscript form before that year, François Ogier's *Apologie pour Monsieur de Balzac*.<sup>5</sup>

The reason this document was so well known is that it was the principal cause of the famous quarrel over the letters of Guez de Balzac which lasted for some five years, 1624-1629, and was one of

<sup>1</sup> H. Rigault, *La Querelle des anciens et des modernes*, Paris, Hachette, 1856-1859. H. Gillot, *La Querelle des anciens et des modernes en France*, Nancy, Crépin, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 80. See also Gillot, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, Paris, Colin, 1896-99, 8 vols., IV, 64. See also Gillot, *op. cit.*, p. 228 and F. Lachèvre, *Le Procès de Théophile de Viau*, Paris, Champion, 1909, 2 vols., II, 133-145.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Sorel, Paris, Hachette, 1891, p. 171. A. Adam (*Histoire de la littérature française au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, Domate, 1948-1956, 5 vols., I, 89-90, 94, 159) discusses Théophile, Boisrobert, Saint-Amant and Sorel as modernists.

<sup>5</sup> Paris, Morlot, 1627, 4°. The next year Ogier spoke out against dramatic rules in his preface to Schelandre's *Tyr et Sidon*. Gillot (*op. cit.*, 205-10) discusses this work of Ogier as well as similar ideas in Deimier's *Art poétique* and d'Urfé's *Préface de Sylvamire* (1610 and 1627, respectively).

the bitterest of that century of bitter literary quarrels. It was written in reply to an attack on Balzac, unpublished but circulated in manuscript, and which supposedly showed that this author had stolen most of his ideas from other authors. This attack, called *Conformité de L'Eloquence de Monsieur de Balzac avec celle des plus grands personnages du temps passé et du présent*, was published for the first time by Ogier in the same volume with his *Apologie*. As a result of this defense of Balzac, war was declared on the unhappy writer by those whom he had offended or who were jealous of him. Balzac was even accused of writing his own *Apologie* and publishing it under his friend's name, since it was full of his own praise. There is no proof for this claim, since Ogier was quite capable of writing his own works, as is evidenced by the preface he wrote for Schelandre's play.

Ogier's opinions are less drastic than those of his contemporaries<sup>6</sup> in that he makes an effort to see both sides of the question. He expresses his respect for the ancients because they came first and were creative with no models to work from. Even if the moderns had not inherited so much from the ancients, they would still owe them respect because of their age.<sup>7</sup> However, he soon qualified this statement by saying that a thing was not necessarily good because it was old, but only if it were "juste et raisonnable." Seventeenth century people must reserve their right to judge, otherwise there would never be progress. Moderns must continue to progress beyond the accomplishments of their ancestors just as these had done with respect to those who came before them.<sup>8</sup> They must imitate in such a way as to surpass the ancients.

Ogier shows himself definitely on the side of the moderns when he twice says that Balzac used the French language in such an excellent way that the only advantage the ancients had over him was that they had lived 1800 years before.<sup>9</sup> Since he is defending Balzac

<sup>6</sup> See Gillot, *op. cit.*, 205-208 and Rigault, *op. cit.*, 76-80.

<sup>7</sup> *Apologie*, p. 9, cited by G. Guillaumie, *Guez de Balzac et la prose française*, Paris, Picard, 1927, p. 87. References to the *Apologie* in this paper are made to the 1628 edition, Paris, Rocolet, 80. The work is also found in the 1665, two-volume folio edition of Balzac's works, II, part 2, pages 109-59.

<sup>8</sup> *Apologie*, 10-12, cited by Guillaumie, p. 91.

<sup>9</sup> *Apologie*, 46-47 and 167-168.



against accusations of plagiarism, he naturally praises imitation of the ancients and especially Balzac's manner of imitation. Ogier felt that imitation was good if the right things were imitated,<sup>10</sup> but that there were bad examples in antiquity,<sup>11</sup> not to be imitated. Balzac had at times surpassed the models he had imitated.<sup>12</sup> All writers had borrowed from others, from Homer to Malherbe.<sup>13</sup> Terence said that nothing could be written about that had not been written about before.<sup>14</sup> But the main thing, according to Ogier, was to borrow "l'art et l'esprit des anciens" rather than the words they used. What was borrowed should not be able to be recognized.

What Ogier was trying to show was that Balzac seldom did imitate<sup>15</sup> but that when he did it was not really imitation, but emulation.<sup>17</sup> Some ideas were common to all great minds and were expressed in about the same way in all epochs.<sup>18</sup> Writers in the modern period can stumble by accident on what the ancients have said, but can also produce new ideas.<sup>19</sup> Balzac had succeeded in treating old ideas in a new way.<sup>20</sup> In fact Ogier thought that Balzac was such an original genius that he might well have said "Male sit antiquis qui mea mihi praeipuer." <sup>21</sup>

The above shows a fairly well defined policy leaning very definitely toward the side of the moderns, but recognizing the real worth of the early writers. The latter had the advantage of having come first, but not all they accomplished was good and they should be judged on merit alone. The principle of intelligent imitation is recognized and it is felt that the ancients could be surpassed, not only by conscious imitation but also by writers striving to be original. This is almost the earliest expression of opinion in the first half of

<sup>10</sup> *Apologie*, 14-15.

<sup>11</sup> *Apologie*, 161-163.

<sup>12</sup> Pliny and Cicero, *Apologie*, 13, 43-46 and 141.

<sup>13</sup> *Apologie*, 18-24.

<sup>14</sup> *Apologie*, 367-368.

<sup>15</sup> *Apologie*, 16-17, cited by Guillaumie, *op. cit.*, 87.

<sup>16</sup> *Apologie*, 13.

<sup>17</sup> *Apologie*, 27-29.

<sup>18</sup> *Apologie*, 31, cited by Guillaumie, *op. cit.*, 88.

<sup>19</sup> *Apologie*, 37-38.

<sup>20</sup> *Apologie*, 39-40.

<sup>21</sup> *Apologie*, 89.

the seventeenth century concerning the relative merits of the ancients and the moderns. It must have been one of the most widely read and discussed opinions on the subject since it touched off a notorious literary quarrel. We can therefore say that it helped prepare the climate of public opinion for the great quarrel that centered later about Boileau.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

RACINE'S *ANDROMAQUE*: ORESTE, SLAYER  
OF PYRRHUS?

By JEROME W. SCHWEITZER

IT HAS GENERALLY been assumed that Oreste wielded the weapon that dealt Pyrrhus the mortal blow at the marriage altar.

H. C. Lancaster in his *A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century* states only that Oreste brings to Hermione the news that Pyrrhus is dead.<sup>1</sup> R. Jasinski<sup>2</sup> is vague on this point. First he states "... Pyrrhus, en tombant sous les coups de SES<sup>3</sup> meurtriers...", then that Hermione crushes Oreste with her scorn and he yields: "il tuera Pyrrhus"; later he writes "D'abord il ne peut même pas tuer Pyrrhus de sa main: les autres Grecs le devançant. Contretemps qui atténue, certes, l'horreur de son forfait, mais sans lui en ôter la responsabilité":

...j'ai fait le crime et je vais l'expier. (v. 1599)

Henri Peyre and J. Seronde,<sup>4</sup> G. Lanson and P. Tuffrau,<sup>5</sup> Nitze and Dargan,<sup>6</sup> J. Bédier,<sup>7</sup> D. Mornet,<sup>8</sup> all concur in attributing to Oreste the slaying of Pyrrhus.

But did he? There is no internal evidence within the text which substantiates this point of view. Indeed, P. Castex and P. Surer<sup>9</sup> in an analysis of the plot write: "Mais voici Oreste: il annonce à Hermione que Pyrrhus est mort sous les coup des Grecs qu'il a soulevés."

<sup>1</sup> Part IV (1940), 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Vers le vrai Racine*, I (Paris, 1958), 193, 215, 216.

<sup>3</sup> Here and in subsequent passages the capitals are mine.

<sup>4</sup> *Nine Classic French Plays* (New York, 1936), 506.

<sup>5</sup> *Manuel d'histoire de la littérature française* (Paris, 1931), 276.

<sup>6</sup> *A History of French Literature* (New York, 1927), 315.

<sup>7</sup> *Littérature française*, I (Paris, 1949), 466.

<sup>8</sup> *Histoire de la littérature classique* (Paris, 1947), 234.

<sup>9</sup> *Manuel des études littéraires françaises (III): 17e siècle* (Paris, 1947), 156.

Their point of view seems to be supported by the text of *Andromaque*. Oreste has come to report the death of Pyrrhus to Hermione; he describes the latter's marriage vows (vv. 1507-1512) and declares:

A ces mots, qui du peuple attiraient le suffrage,  
 Nos Grecs n'ont répondu que par un cri de rage;  
 L'infidèle s'est vu partout envelopper,  
**ET JE N'AI PU TROUVER DE PLACE POUR FRAPPER.**  
 Chacun se disputait la gloire de l'abattre.  
 Je l'ai vu dans leurs mains quelques temps se débattre,  
 Tout sanglant à leurs coups vouloir se dérober;  
 Mais enfin à l'autel il est allé tomber. (vv. 1513-1520).

It should be noted that nowhere in this communiqué does Oreste assert that he personally struck the mortal blow. On the contrary he claims he could find no target for his dagger and seems to infer that he was a mere witness as his Greeks destroyed the king. Moreover, in answer to Hermione's question he responds:

... Pardonnez à leur impatience:  
 Ils ont, je le vois bien, trahi votre vengeance.  
 Vous vouliez que MA main portât les premiers coups,  
 ... ..  
 Mais c'est moi dont l'ardeur leur a servi d'exemple:  
 Je les ai pour vous seule entraînés dans le temple,  
 Madame; et vous pouvez justement vous flatter  
 D'une mort que LEURS BRAS n'ont fait qu'exécuter (vv. 1525-1532).

I should say then that Oreste is an accessory and Hermione an accessory before the fact in this murder but certainly there is no evidence to support the assumption that Oreste is THE murderer.

To be sure, in her tirade terminating with the famous "Qui te l'a dit?", she accuses him personally of assassinating Pyrrhus but she is out of her mind with grief and rage and she is bent on making Oreste the scapegoat. The latter, driven to the brink of insanity, is no less irrational as he accuses himself:

Je suis, si je l'en crois, un traître, un assassin. (v. 1567).

But, when in his hallucination, Pyrrhus's ghost appears before him, his subconscious seems to reveal the truth for he asks Pyrrhus how he survived so many blows, adding:

*Tiens, tiens, voilà le coup que je t'ai réservé. (v. 1632).*

That is to say, he refers to the dagger thrust which in reality he probably never had the opportunity to deliver. And even in his delusion he is thwarted because Hermione's shade shields Pyrrhus.

From the internal evidence, then, it seems clear to me that although Oreste engineered the slaying of Pyrrhus and is both accountable and responsible therefor, only in his mind is he the actual murderer. Of course the intent was there for he did unleash his Greeks on the hapless Pyrrhus.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA

MANUSCRIPT N.° 290 IN THE FREE LIBRARY, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA: A BOCCACCIO MANUSCRIPT

By PATRICIA M. GATHERCOLE

IN *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, vol. II, p. 2070, by Seymour De Ricci and W. J. Wilson, we read the following entry: 290 (Giovanni Boccaccio, *Cas des Nobles*?) Vel. (ca. 1440). One folio, 40 × 29 cm., at The Free Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

This fragment of one folio, coming from a carefully made manuscript, was in all likelihood copied at one of the Burgundian capitals. The page, written in a large formal hand, offers rubrics and capital letters of a common type executed in blue, red and gold. The stylized ornamentation reveals black stems, tiny flowers and gold ivy leaves delicately extending across the top of the folio. A marginal note under the leaf-work reads: "De Triare femme de lucien vitelien". At the bottom of the page is found a chapter ending: "Cy fine listoire de Triare femme de Lucien Vitelien"

On consulting *Des Cas des Nobles*, a fifteenth century translation of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* by Laurent de Premierfait, which is cited above by De Ricci and Wilson, the author established that Aulus Vitellius, emperor of Rome in 69 AD, who was the son of Lucius Vitellius, is mentioned in chapters 5, 6 and 7 of Book VII. Although there is a chapter entitled "In Mulieres", there remains, however, no reference to Triare, the wife of Lucius (consul and governor of Syria under Tiberius; see Suetonius and Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.32). Could the folio have been taken from another but comparable work of Boccaccio?

Another treatise by Boccaccio, similar in content to *De Casibus*, discusses the lives of celebrated women of antiquity. This is *De Claris Mulieribus*, translated into French under the title of *Des Cleres et*

*nobles femmes*. The Latin original was believed to have been rendered into French also during the early years of the fifteenth century by Laurent de Premierfait,<sup>1</sup> the translator of *De Casibus* and of the *Decameron*.<sup>2</sup> In the first edition of *Des Cleres*, printed at Paris in 1493, appears a chapter heading: "Le XCVII de Triarie femme de Lucius Vitellus. Et commence en texte. Triaria nullo alio sui generis splendore". We have perhaps found the Triare of the Philadelphia copy.

*Des Cleres* is extant in at least thirteen manuscripts, which are lavishly illustrated and which disclose a marked resemblance among themselves and to the 1493 edition. These are N.° 856 (622) in the Musée Condé, Chantilly; N.° 9509 of the Royal Library, Brussels; Royal 16 G V and Royal 20 C V in the British Museum, London; N.° 2555 of the National Library, Vienna; N.° 33 (Spencer Collection) in the New York Public Library, and N.° 381 at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Six copies are found at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

On viewing the six manuscripts of *Des Cleres* extant at the Bibliothèque Nationale (fonds fr. 598, 599, 12420, 1120, 133, 5037) the story of Triare was discovered on all copies toward the final part of the volume. The usual heading for this particular section reads: "S'ensuit l'istoire de Triarie femme de Lucien Vitellien". None of these manuscripts shows at the very end of the chapter the phrase, "Cy fine l'istoire de Triarie femme de Lucien Vitellien", but

<sup>1</sup> The French translation of *De Claris*, finished in 1401 has been assigned to various authors. P. Paris, in *Les Manuscrits françois de la Bibliothèque du Roi* (Paris, 1836), I, p. 259, and G. Gröber in *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie* (Strassburg, 1902), I, p. 1106, consider Laurent the translator. H. Hauvette, *De Laurentio de Primofato* (Paris, 1903) 102-105, and A. Hortis, *Studj sulle Opere latine del Boccaccio* (Trieste, 1875), p. 612, affirm that this authorship is questionable. The present writer is inclined to agree with the latter two, since the translation seems much too literal and badly done to be the work of Laurent, one of the most significant translators of France in the fifteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> See H. Hauvette, *De Laurentio de Primofato*, and my articles, "Laurent de Premierfait: The Translator of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*", *The French Review*, XXVII (1954), 245-252; "The Manuscripts of Laurent de Premierfait's *Des Cas des Nobles*", *Italica*, XXXII (1955), 14-21; "Two Old French Translations of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*", *Modern Language Quarterly*, XVII (1956), 304-309; "The Manuscripts of Laurent de Premierfait's Works", *Modern Language Quarterly*, XIX (1958), 262-270.

this sentence could easily have been added by the scribe of the Philadelphia fragment. At the end of all the *Des Cleres* manuscripts extant elsewhere one comes across the colophon: "Icy fine le livre des femmes renommées de Jehan Boccace..." It therefore seems quite logical that a scribe should use a like manner of phrasing for the finish of a chapter within the same book.

The text of Number 290, the single folio at Philadelphia, has been collated with the six aforementioned manuscripts of *Des Cleres* at the Bibliothèque Nationale and is found to be almost identical. For the purpose of brevity, only the verso side of the fragment and the corresponding portion of BN fr. 133 are given here in the comparison:

*Philadelphia Ms. 290, verso:*

"poeterine damour du loyen de mariage. les forces et les vertus. Car en la dicte femme. par les dictes vertus. fors que de son mary. la gloire fust esleevee. nulle crainte fut trouvee de pitie. nulle memoire nulle honte feminine. nul iugement au temps ayant resgard. mais luy fut advis que pour lonneur de son mary. que toutes choses. par legier labour povoit soustenir. Laquele dame non pas tant seulement. les femmes. lesqueles ont la coustume souventefoiz. et par longue pensee de murmurer ou geron de leurs maris. et de plourer. mais les iuenes tresfors. et preux en armes. par grand horreur aulcunefoiz reprenoit et corrigeoit. Et se il est ainsi que par si grand force et violence. ceste femme marine et noturne ou fait devant dict se porta. qui sera ce qui cuidera que cest femme tant seulement. soit ad loer pour le dict fait. Comme les vertus dommaigeuses ou sollempneles naient pas accoustume. dedans les poeterines des mortelz habiter seules. Pour verite ie cuyde. ia soit ce que mis soit hors de memoire. que Triare fut moult plus noble. en aultres merites. et vertus pluseurs.

Cy fine listoire detriare femme de lucien vitelien."

*BN fr. 133, folio 98:*

"ferme courage damours du lien de mariaige les forces et les vertuz. Car la dicte femme par les vertuz delle ne desiroit fors que



de son mari la salvation et la gloire de lui estre eslevee nulle crainte en elle ne fut trouvee ne depitie nulle memoire nulle honte feminine a nul iugement de temps avoir regart mais lui fut advis que pour l'onneur de son mari que toutes choses par legier labeur pouvoit soutenir laquelle dame non pas tant seulement les femmes Lesquelles ont la coustume (f. 98v.) souventesfoiz et par longue pensee denbironner ou giron en tous leurs mariz et aucunes foiz faictement plourer mais ycelle dame les femies hommes tresfors et preux en armes par tresgrant horreur aucunesfoiz reprenoit et corrigeoit. Et sil est ainsi que par si grande force et violence ceste femme marine ou natur ou defait devant dit si bien se porta comme dit est qui sera cellui qui cuidera que cest femme tant seulement soit a louer pour le dit fait comme les vertuz dommageuses ou sollennelles ou acoustumees dedens les poitrines des mortelz femmes. Cestes vertuz y ayent este. Pour verite ie cuide ja soit que mys soit hors de memoire que Triare fut moult plus noble en autres merites et en pluseurs vertuz."<sup>3</sup>

The similarity between the texts remains striking. The passage reveals an unremitting praise of Triare who through a fervent love for her husband fought fiercely to defend him in battle.<sup>4</sup> In many places, the texts are alike, word for word, phrase by phrase; the same repetitions and doublets are used.

N.° 290 of the Free Library, Philadelphia, does not form part of one of Boccaccio's *Des Cas* manuscripts. It should be added to the collection of the manuscripts showing *Des Cleres et nobles femmes* (from Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus*).

ROANOTKE COLLEGE

<sup>3</sup> There is no modern edition of *Des Cleres*; the 1493 edition follows closely the manuscript cited above, BN fr. 133, and does not therefore need to be given here.

<sup>4</sup> This flattery of Triare comes as a welcome relief after reading the numerous biting satires of the Middle Ages against women (see the works of Jean de Meung, Eustache Deschamps, etc.).

A CLASSICAL SOURCE FOR SONNET I, i OF  
FERREIRA'S *POEMAS LUSITANOS*

By MITCHELL D. TRIWEDI

IT IS A well known fact that Antonio Ferreira, one of the most important poets of the Portuguese Renaissance, was considerably influenced by the works of Horace. This influence is particularly manifest in those odes by the Lusitanian which deal with favorite Horatian themes and in a few of his epistles which repeat literary precepts from the *Ars Poetica*.<sup>1</sup> That Ferreira was also indebted to Horace in one of his sonnets, however, appears to have gone unnoticed heretofore.

In Sonnet I, i of his *Poemas lusitanos*, Ferreira addresses his book of verse and advises it to remain unpublished; the book, personified and endowed with a will of its own, rejects his counsel, and the poet is forced to resign himself to its publication:

Livro, se luz desejas, mal te enganas.  
Quanto melhor será dentro em teu muro  
Quieto, e humilde estar, inda que escuro,  
Onde ninguém t'empere, a ninguém danas!

Sugeitas sempre ao tempo obras humanas  
Co'a novidade aprazem; logo em duro  
Ódio, e desprezo ficam: ama o seguro  
Silêncio, fuge o povo, e mãos profanas.

Ah! não te posso ter! deixa ir comprindo  
Primeiro tua idade; quem te move  
Te defenda do tempo, e de seus danos.

<sup>1</sup> See Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Horacio en España*, 2d ed. (Madrid, 1885), II, 298-308; Joseph G. Fucilla, "The Horatianism of Antonio Ferreira", *Ver-gilius*, N.º 6 (Dec. 1940), 8-16, reprinted in *Studies and Notes* (Napoli, 1953), pp. 271-281.

Dirás que a pesar meu fôste fugindo,  
 Reinando Sebastião, Rei de quatro anos:  
 Ano cincoenta e sete: eu vinte e nove.<sup>2</sup>

A striking feature of this sonnet, which Ferreira apparently composed as a preface to his book, is its form of address. As far as the present writer is aware, Portuguese literature before Ferreira offers no precedent of an author addressing to his own book what he wished to say to his readers (or the world at large) by way of preface or epilogue.<sup>3</sup> The device was not unknown, of course, among classical Latin poets. Horace uses it in his *Epistles* (I, xx), Ovid in the *Tristia* (I, i) and *Ex Ponto* (IV, v), and Martial in no less than nine of his *Epigrams*.<sup>4</sup> Of these dozen examples, however, only Horace's epistle appears to have suggested to Ferreira a few motifs and details for his sonnet.

In the opening hexameters of the Twentieth Epistle of Book I,<sup>5</sup> Horace portrays his recently completed *liber* as anxious to go on sale at the public bookstalls; he warns the book that, once issued, it cannot return:

Vertumnnum Ianumque, liber, spectare videris,  
 scilicet ut prostes Sosiorum pumice mundus.  
 odisti clavis et grata sigilla pudico;  
 paucis ostendi gemis et communia laudas,  
 non ita nutritus. fuge quo descendere gestis.  
 non erit emisso reditus tibi. "quid miser egi  
 quid volui?" dices, ubi quis te laeserit, et scis  
 in breve te cogi, cum plenus languet amator. (1-8)

Horace attributes to his book a desire to come before the public and reveals his opposition to such an appearance. This is, essentially, the

<sup>2</sup> Antonio Ferreira, *Poemas lusitanos*, ed. Marques Braga, I (Lisboa, 1939), 3-4.

<sup>3</sup> A. Porqueras Mayo, *El prólogo como género literario* (Madrid, 1957), pp. 110-111, draws attention to a few sporadic cases of the "prólogo dirigido al libro" in Spanish literature, but none of these antedates Ferreira's sonnet.

<sup>4</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*: I, iii; II, i; III, ii, iv, lxxxix; VIII, i; X, civ; XI, i; XII, ii.

<sup>5</sup> My references to the text of this epistle are to the edition by H. Rushton Fairclough in the Loeb Classical Library: *Horace: Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1955.

situation which Ferreira introduces in the initial *cuarteto* of his sonnet:

Livro, se luz desejas, mal te enganas.  
Quanto melhor será dentro em teu muro  
Quieto, e humilde estar, inda que escuro,  
Onde ninguém t'empere, a ninguém danas!

With the clause "mal te enganas" Ferreira laconically renders the idea of self-deception realized in the plaintive cries ("quid miser egi? quid volui?") which Horace imagines his book will voice when hurt. The Latin poet's reference to physical injury ("ubi quis te laeserit"), moreover, seems to be echoed in Ferreira's advice that his book stay at home unharmed ("Onde ninguém t'empere").

The second *cuarteto* of the sonnet sheds further light upon Ferreira's attitude toward the publication of his book:

Sugeitas sempre ao tempo obras humanas  
Co'a novidade aprazem; logo em duro  
Odio, e desprezo ficam: ama o seguro  
Silêncio, fuge o povo, e mãos profanas.

Asserting that human works cease to please after losing their novelty, Ferreira implies that his own book, one more *obra humana*, will fare likewise: it will find favor as long as it remains new, but with the passage of time it will become the object of scorn. Compare with this implicit forecast the following prediction in the second part of Horace's epistle:

carus eris Romae, donec te deserat aetas;  
contrectatus ubi manibus sordescere volgi  
coeperis, aut tineas pasces taciturnus inertis  
aut fugies Uticam aut vinctus mitteris Ilerdam.  
.....  
hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem  
occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus. (10-18)

An analogy between the fate which each poet foresees for his book is apparent. Horace predicts that his *liber* will enjoy a brief period of success which will be limited to the duration of its youth; the

future popularity of Ferreira's *livro* will also be short-lived since it is contingent upon its *novidade*. With its *aetas* gone, Horace's book will suffer a series of vicissitudes—neglect, banishment to the provinces, use as a text for schoolboys—all of which are summed up in the "duro / Ódio, e desprêzo" mentioned in the sonnet. It is particularly noteworthy that the downfall of the Latin poet's book will be precipitated by the hands of the common crowd ("contrectatus ... manibus ... volgi"), the very hands which the Lusitanian urges his *livro* to shun ("fuge o povo, e mãos profanas").

A final parallel between the epistle and the sonnet is to be found in the manner in which each is brought to a close. Horace terminates his epilogic epistle with some facts about his life and his personality, which he charges his book to impart to its audience (19-28); the last of these facts concerns his age:

forte meum si quis te percontabitur aevum,  
me quater undenos sciat implevisse Decembris,  
collegam Lepidum quo duxit Lollius anno. (26-28)

Ferreira concludes his prefatory sonnet with a brief message which he asks his book to convey to its readers and which contains, *inter alia*, a reference to his age:

Dirás que a pesar meu fôste fugindo,  
Reinando Sebastião, Rei de quatro anos:  
Ano cincoenta e sete: eu vinte e nove.

A scrutiny of these passages shows that each dates not only the author's life but, in a sense, his book as well. Horace links his *liber* to the name of the new co-consul Lepidus, who had just been chosen colleague to Lollius; Ferreira links his *livro* to the name of the infant Sebastian, who on June 11, 1557—*terminus a quo* for the composition of the sonnet—had become King of Portugal by virtue of the death of his grandfather João III.

The foregoing textual parallels and reminiscences, in the aggregate, leave little doubt that Ferreira, whether consciously or not, was influenced by Horace's epistle in composing this sonnet to his

book. It is the only sonnet of Ferreira's entire collection of verse, we may add by way of conclusion, in which he reveals his indebtedness to a Horatian source.

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## BRUTO'S BURNED BOATS

By MAC E. BARRICK

GUTIERRE DÍEZ DE Games's *Victorial* is an early fifteenth century chronicled biography of Pero Niño, Conde de Buelna (d. 1453), a work of considerable merit as history and as literature. Juan Marichal considered its author a Renaissance man.<sup>1</sup> Marichal also discussed the "voluntad de creación literaria" of Díez de Games (*op. cit.*, p. 61) which was capable of transforming its historical or literary sources into a new artistic creation. This capability is illustrated well by his treatment of the Brut legend, one of the few occurrences of this theme, if not the only one, in Spanish literature.

Díez de Games's version of the *Brut* appears in the *Victorial* on pages 142-177 of the Mata Carriazo edition.<sup>2</sup> Mata Carriazo suggests that Díez de Games used a French source based either on Wace's *Roman de Brut*, or directly on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (*op. cit.*, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv). It is, however, quite likely that there was no intermediate text, that Games was utilizing directly the *Historia*, but that he was writing so long after his reading of that work that he confused in his memory the details of Geoffrey's *Historia* with those of some unidentified history of Troy. At any rate, Díez de Games permits himself "muchas libertades" with the legend. To trace all the sources of his variations would require

<sup>1</sup> *La voluntad de estilo* (Barcelona, 1957), 58: "En Díez de Games operaba ya la conciencia individualista del Renacimiento... *El Victorial* fue, en verdad, la creación de Díez de Games, que al hacer eterna la figura de su 'héroe' quiso también alcanzar para sí mismo la perennidad literaria." Cf. Joseph E. Gillet, *Torres Narbarro and the Drama of the Renaissance*, ed. Otis H. Green (Philadelphia, 1960), 112, 120, 187, 225 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *El Victorial, Crónica de Don Pero Niño, Conde de Buelna*, por su alférez Gutierre Díez de Games. Edición y estudio por Juan de Mata Carriazo (Madrid, 1940).

a great deal of study and space, but the treatment of one incident—the burning of Bruto's boats—is of considerable interest.

According to Geoffrey of Monmouth,<sup>3</sup> Brutus, after his French campaign, sailed to England, then called Albion, and after conquering the giants who ruled it, changed the name to Britannia. Brutus ruled the land for many years thereafter, founding the city of London, and eventually dying there. Wace's version is essentially the same,<sup>4</sup> and the early English and Welsh *Bruts* do not change the story to any significant extent<sup>5</sup>, though Layamon's version is considerably more detailed than the others (32,240 lines to Wace's 15,300). Díez de Games's version incorporates many changes into the relation of the conquest of England. His Bruto, instead of dying in England, returns to Greece. In his version, the battle against the giants takes the form of an individual combat between the champions of the opposing armies. By defeating the giant (unnamed in the *Victorial*; Gogmagog, or Geomagog in the other versions), Bruto's Galician friend (also unnamed here; Corineus elsewhere), wins the kingdom for him. In earlier versions of the legend, the combat takes the form of a wrestling match between Corineus and the captive giant. The failure to provide the names of these characters seems to indicate a failure in Díez de Games's memory. Having read Geoffrey's *Historia* sometime before, he no longer recalls all the details, and fills the *lacunae* with incidents and details from his general knowledge of legendary material.

Such is the case in his references to the burning of Bruto's boats. Bruto, when landing in Anglia, moves inland, leaving his boats poorly guarded; the Anglians on discovering this attack and burn his boats:

E estando Bruto seguro, en la meytad de la tierra de  
Anglia, poblando e faciendolo sus lugares, vinieron toda  
aquella gente ayuntada, e fueron al puerto, donde

<sup>3</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The Historia Regum Britaniae*, ed. Acton Griscom and Robert Ellis Jones (London, 1929), 249-253.

<sup>4</sup> Wace, *Roman de Brut*, ed. Ivor Arnold (Paris, 1938-40), I, 59 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Layamon, *Brut, or Chronicle of Britain*, ed. Sir Frederic Madden (London, 1847), I, 76-89; *Brut y Brenhinedd. Cotton Cleopatra Version*, ed. John J. Parry (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), pp. 21-23; *The Brut or the Chronicles of England*, ed. from MS. Rawl. B. 171, Bodleian Library by Friedrich W. D. Brie (London, 1906-08), I, 10-12.



estaban los navíos, e quemáronlos todos. E tomaron los lugares de los puertos, e mataron de los de Bruto quantos ende fallaron. (*Victorial, ed. cit.*, p. 162.)

Later, however, Díez de Games mentions a rumor that Bruto may have burned his own boats:

E dixerón algunos en aquel tiempo que los navíos que suso vos dixe que fueran quemados en el puerto, que Bruto los mandara quemar secretamente, e dexara los puertos de la mar, a qué diera lugar a los yngleses que los quemasen, e se pusieran en meytad del reyno; porque entendió que las más de sus gentes se le querían tornar, porque non auía vino en aquella tierra, porque ellos heran criados en la tierra donde ay mucho vino. (*ibid.*, p. 176.)

There is no mention in any of the known *Bruts* of Brut's boats being burned by himself or anyone else. In Layamon's *Brut*, the ships are run aground:

þa scipen biten en þat fond:  
& al þat folc eode an lond. (*ed. cit.*, I, 76, vv. 1788-89.)

But there is no mention of their being burned. Moreover, Díez de Games tells us that the boats were burned while still afloat, for the Grecian fleet, seeking Bruto later, came upon the wreckage:

E fallaron todo lleno de carvones, tantos e tan grandes que ante ellos non podían llegar a la tierra, con gran trecho. E vieron que heran de navíos quemados, ca abía muchas piezas de másteles, e de entenas, e de bavpresos, e de alzares, e de tablazón, e de muchos remos. Así que conosciéron que grand frota e grand muchedumbre de navíos avían allí seydo quemados. (*Victorial, ed. cit.*, pp. 168 f.)

What was the source of this incident if not the original Brut legend or any of its later versions? Díez de Games obviously knew of historical or legendary accounts of boat-burning, of which there are many\*, only one, however, connected with the history of England.

\* See Winston A. Reynold, "The Burning Ships of Hernán Cortés", *Hispania*, XLII (1959), 317-324, and *idem.*, "To Burn One's Boats or to Burn One's Bridges", *American Speech*, XXXIV (1959), 95-100.

About the year 296 A. D., Asclepiodotus, an officer of Constantius during the reconquest of Britain, "had no sooner disembarked the Imperial troops than he set fire to his ships; and, as the expedition proved fortunate, his heroic conduct was universally admired"<sup>7</sup>. Other accounts of ship-burning which Díez de Games may have known involved Agathocles of Syracuse (fourth century B. C.), Quintus Fabius Maximus (third century B. C.), Virgil's Aeneas (*Aeneid*, V, 605-699), the Emperor Julian (363 A. D.), or Robert Guiscard at the battle of Durazzo (Oct., 1081)<sup>8</sup>. It is possible that Díez de Games may not have known of any of these incidents, for Winston Reynolds has shown that by 1519 the legend of the hero's burning of his ships had become so popular that it was applied without question to Hernán Cortés<sup>9</sup>. The fact that the incident may not be true didn't bother Díez de Games. Artist that he was, he recognized its symbolic value and adapted it to his own purposes.

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<sup>7</sup> Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, II (New York, 1906), p. 156.

<sup>8</sup> See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. cit., X (New York, 1907), 116; cf. *Notes and Queries*, ser. 12, X (1922), 79; Reynold, *art. cit.*, p. 321.

<sup>9</sup> *Art. cit.*, p. 321. J. Amor y Vázquez, in "Apostilla a la 'Quema de las naves' de Cortés", *Hispanic Review*, XXIX (1961), 45-52, agrees with Reynold (sec p. 45).

## ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS ON MARIE DE FRANCE

By P. N. FLUM

VERY FEW POETS of the medieval period have generated as much interest among scholars of the period as has Marie de France. The identity of Marie has for many years presented us with an especially fascinating puzzle that could defy solution. Numerous studies and reviews have appeared from time to time which relate to Marie's life and works<sup>1</sup>.

Holmes's hypothesis concerning the identity of Marie de France is now well-known<sup>2</sup>. As Holmes frankly states, his suggestion for a solution to the identity of Marie was only a surmise based upon three proved facts: Marie lived and wrote in England, she was a woman of noble birth, and she was a native of *France*, which, in her day, designated the Ile-de-France, the French Vexin, and possibly the French Gâtinais. He says that he found *only one* Marie who meets all three of these requirements. This Marie was the granddaughter of Robert *le preudhomme*, count of Meulan and the first earl of Leicester, the daughter (and eighth child) of Galeran II, count of Meulan, and of Agnes de Montfort (sister of Amaury II, count of Evreux), and the wife of Hugh Talbot, baron of Cleuville in the *pays de Caux*<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Julian Harris' bibliography in his *Marie de France, the Lays Gugemar, Lanval, and a Fragment of Yonec* (New York: Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Columbia University, 1930); Leo Spitzer, "Marie de France - Dichterin von Problem-Märchen", *ZRPb*, L (1930), 29-67; Erich Nagel, "Marie de France als dichterische Persönlichkeit", *RF*, XLIV (1930), 1-102; Friedrich Schür, "Komposition und Symbolik in den Lais der Marie de France", *ZRPb*, L (1930), 556-582; and E. Hoepffner, "La Géographie et l'histoire dans les lais de Marie de France", *Rom*, LVI (1930), 1-32.

<sup>2</sup> Urban T. Holmes, "New Thoughts on Marie de France", *SP*, XXIX (January 1932), 1-10.

<sup>3</sup> Louis Mas Latrie, *Trésor de chronologie d'histoire et de géographie pour l'étude et l'emploi des documents du moyen âge* (Paris: Palmé, 1889), col. 1.639.

In the interest of completeness, I shall mention two additional sources which speak of the children of Galeran and Agnes. Very recently, I discovered a relatively obscure footnote, with source *not* given, in an appendix to one volume of *The Complete Peerage*, which reads in part as follows:

(m) ... ..  
 Agnes and Waleran had 6 sons and 1 daughter ... ..  
 The only daughter, Isabel, m., Istly, Geoffrey de Mayenne, and 2ndly, before  
 1183, Maurice de Craon.  
 ... .. and she d. 10 May 1220 ... ..<sup>4</sup>

Another important and very accurate source, Le Prévost, tells us:

... ..  
 De sa femme Agnès, fille d'Amauri III, seigneur de Montfort, il [Galeran] eut  
 une nombreuse postérité: six fils et trois filles ...<sup>5</sup>

It is unfortunate that Le Prévost does not mention the names of the three daughters.

Le Prévost comments further concerning the intellectual and other accomplishments of both Robert *le preudhomme* and Galeran:

... ..  
 La violence de caractère qu'il [Robert] déploya dans cette circonstance s'alliait  
 chez lui avec une grande ambition, de hautes connaissances politiques, beaucoup  
 de réserve habituelle, de sobriété et d'élégance de mœurs; aussi fut-il l'un des  
 plus puissants personnages et peut-être le politique le plus accompli de son  
 siècle, après toutefois son souverain Henri I<sup>er</sup>, dont il resta toute sa vie le  
 principal conseiller, comme son père avait été le principal conseiller du Con-  
 quérant... [p. 206b]

... ..  
 Il [Robert] n'était pas seulement, comme nous l'avons dit, le plus profond po-  
 litique de son siècle, il en était encore le *gentleman* le plus accompli. Tout le  
 monde modelait sa manière de parler sur la sienne, son costume sur le sien, et

<sup>4</sup> *The Complete Peerage or a History of the House of Lords and All Its Members from the Earliest Times*, eds. H. A.

Doubleday and Lord Howard de Walden, 13 vols. (London: The St Catherine Press, 1910-40), VII, 738-739.

<sup>5</sup> *Mémoires et Notes de M. Auguste Le Prévost pour servir à l'histoire du Département de l'Eure*, eds. Léopold Delisle and Louis Passy, 3 vols. (Evreux, 1862-69), I, 208 b.

l'imitait jusque dans l'heure de son repas: car l'histoire a remarqué qu'il n'en faisait qu'un par jour... [p. 207a]

.....  
 Galeran de Meulan, 1<sup>er</sup> comme seigneur de Beaumont, 11<sup>e</sup> comme comte de Meulan, fils de Robert et d'Elisabeth ou Isabelle (c'est le même nom) de Vermandois, doit être né dans les dernières années du xi<sup>e</sup> siècle. Galeran et son frère jumeau, Robert, comte de Leicester, reçurent de Morin du Pin, l'un des vassaux les plus fidèles de leur famille, sur l'ordre de Henri 1<sup>er</sup>, une éducation distinguée. Aussi furent-ils en état de soutenir dans leur première jeunesse, à Gisors [1119], devant le pape Calixte, une discussion publique dont ils sortirent avec beaucoup d'éclat... [p. 207b] \*.

In *The Complete Peerage* under "Worcester" we read: "Waleran [Galeran] was certainly much better educated than most of his contemporaries..."<sup>7</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, who dedicated his *Historia Regum Britanniae* to Galeran, among others, says of this illustrious man: "When he was a child, Mother Philosophy instructed him in the subtleties of her knowledge..."<sup>8</sup> The comments of William of Malmesbury<sup>9</sup> and of Etienne of Rouen<sup>10</sup> concerning Galeran run in this same vein.

As for the barony of Cleuville mentioned above, Professor Holmes has stated that he has found no confirmation of this title save in the Mas Latrîe. I have come across this entry in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*:

Talbot (1) (*John*), comte de Shrewsbury... Il était d'origine française (1) et descendait des barons normands de Cleuville au pays de Caux...<sup>11</sup>

I offer this entry as an additional confirmation of the title in question.

\* Le Prévost, I (1862).

<sup>7</sup> *The Complete Peerage*, XII, pt. 2, 837, note (g).

<sup>8</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, etc., ed. Acton Griscom (New York, 1929).

<sup>9</sup> William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum*, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series, N.º 90, 2 vols. (London, 1887, 1889), II, 482.

<sup>10</sup> Etienne of Rouen, "Draco Normannicus", *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett, Rolls Series, N.º 82 (London, 1885), II, 766-770.

<sup>11</sup> *Nouvelle Biographie Générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, ed. Hoefer, 46 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et Cie., 1855-70), XLIV, cols 785-786.

In conclusion, I wish to mention Le Prévost's<sup>12</sup> translation of the Latin text of a charter of Robert IV, count of Meulan and brother of Marie, to the Church of the Holy Trinity of Beaumont, dated 1180, to which *Hugo de Caux* was one of the witnesses. I suggest that this Hugo de Caux was none other than Hugh Talbot, baron of Cleuville in the *pays de Caux*, the husband of Marie de Meulan.

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<sup>12</sup> Le Prévost, I (1862), 213 a.

## OLD FRENCH MANEFLE

By CHARLES H. LIVINGSTON

GODEFROY RECORDS TWO examples of OF *manefle* both taken from the text of the fabliau *Del sot chevalier* as published by Anatole de Montaiglon from ms. Paris Bib. Nat. fonds fr. 837.<sup>1</sup> Godefroy's definition "outil à l'usage des bouviers" is vague. Montaiglon later<sup>2</sup> explains the word more fully as "instrument de fer qui, chauffé à blanc, sert à percer des trous". A second manuscript, which Montaiglon did not know, establishes as author of the fabliau, Gautier Le Leu a native of Hainaut, (second half of XIII c.) and furnishes a third example of *manefle*. I cite the three passages from a recent edition of the fabliau<sup>3</sup> based on both manuscripts, with enough of the context to link them in sense.

The wife of the chevalier sends him at night in the dark to bring her a glass of wine from a wine-skin (*outre*). He finds no way of opening the *outre*.

273 Puis a pris un *manefle* cort  
De quoi li bovier de le cort  
Aparellierent lor atoirve.

He approaches the embers glowing in the fireplace:

288 Il a le *manefle* escaufet,  
Ausi con li bovier fassoient  
Qant il lor harnas refaisoient.

<sup>1</sup> *Recueil général des fabliaux* (Paris, 1872), I, 229.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, VI (1890), 349.

<sup>3</sup> C. H. Livingston, *Le jongleur Gautier Le Leu* (Cambridge, 1951), 196, 197.

In the dark he mistakes the exposed posterior of one of the guests for the wine-skin and punches it with the hot iron. In the resulting clamor, he throws the tool across the room thus further increasing the confusion:

302 Et li sos a la main escosse,  
De quoi il tenoit le *manefle*,  
Aval le maison le fondefle,

The text of Montaiglon is here somewhat different. Instead of *manefle*, an equivalent *fer chaut* is used, but the superiority of the text of the fabliau in which this third example of *manefle* appears, is everywhere evident and there is a good chance that *manefle* here was in the original poem. It is evident, however, that Montaiglon's detailed definition is exact. The short iron tool, held in the hand and heated, was used by cattlemen to punch holes in their equipment.

Old French *manefle* has not engaged the attention of the etymologists; neither Meyer-Lübke (*REW*) nor Wartburg (*FEW*) records it. *Manefle* has as origin, I believe, L. MANIPULUS-UM [MANUS PLEO, PLENUS] which meant primarily "handful, bundle" (of hay, grain, etc.). It was also applied in medieval Latin to things held in the hand. Caelius Aurelianus (V c.) uses it to signify "pieces of metal held in the hand during gymnastic exercises to increase the momentum of the leap or stroke." Du Cange lists fem. MANIPULA "scipio, baculus qui manibus gestatur" and fem. MANIPULA "trulla caementaria", a mason's trowel. Old French *manefle*, presumably through a similar semantic development, came to mean: tool held in the hand. A modern Gascon dialectal *meneble* (Gers *meneblo*, fem.) "manche de charrue",<sup>4</sup> a phonologically regular descendant of MANIPULUS, is to be explained in the same way semantically. Unfortunately we cannot point to the occurrence of OF *manefle* in medieval texts other than the fabliau of

<sup>4</sup> *FEW* MANIPULUS; A. Thomas, *Mélanges d'étymologie française* (Paris, 1927), 143.



Gautier Le Leu, but the Gascon forms are a valuable support of our etymology.

The example of *manefle* in rhyme (vv. 303, 304) with *fondefle* is especially interesting. *Fondefler* "lancer des pierres avec une *fondefle*", here used in extended sense, is evidently a verbal adaptation of the noun *fondefle* "machine de guerre servant à lancer d'énormes pierres". The dictionaries do not hesitate to give as its etymological origin <sup>V</sup>FUNDIBALUM. The *REW*, (3582a) mentions an illuminating variant *fondeble*<sup>5</sup> which appears to be a direct descendant of <sup>V</sup>FUNDIBULUM, an old attested parallel form of <sup>V</sup>FUNDIBALUM. To explain *fondefle* (<<sup>V</sup>FUNDIBALUM) Wartburg calls upon a transitional \**fondevele*> \**fondevle*> *fondefle*.

An independent OF *menevel*, *manesvel* "poignée" existed alongside of *manefle*. It represented <sup>V</sup>MANIPULUM with substitution in Vulgar Latin of the diminutive suffix ELLUM for-ULUM: \*MANIPELLUM, \*MANAPELLUM.<sup>6</sup> Old French *menevel* had currency over a wide area of eastern and southeastern France as evidenced by numerous descendants in the modern patois.<sup>7</sup> Its influence on the apparently rare name of the tool is understandable. The evolution may have been <sup>V</sup>MANIPULUM> \**maneble* (cf. Gascon *meneble*, *meneblo* and OF *fondeble*)> \**manevle* (influence of *menevel*)> *manefle* in which the rather rare group -*vl*-> -*fl*- by consonantal dissimilation.

If this explanation of the etymology of OF *manefle* is correct, it points to <sup>V</sup>VL MANIPULUM in the north of Gaul in addition to its use in the south as attested by Gascon *meneble*.

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<sup>5</sup> I have not found Meyer-Lübke's source for *fondeble*.

<sup>6</sup> Antoine Thomas, *Mélanges*, p. 143.

<sup>7</sup> *F E W*, VI 230, gives a list; cf also Thomas, *Mélanges*, p. 143, n. 1.

ON SOME "NEUTRALIZATIONS" OF THE ACTIVE  
/PASSIVE CONTRAST IN LATE LATIN AND  
ROMANCE

By ROBERT L. POLITZER

IT IS A well known fact that Indo-European furnishes in practically all of its branches examples of verbs which seem in their very meaning neutral as far as the passive/active contrast is concerned. Thus the IE root \**reg* meant evidently to give as well as to take a certain direction.<sup>1</sup> In French we can say *je brûle la lettre* or *la lettre brûle* (with the verb assuming a passive meaning), *je tourne la page* or *la page tourne*.<sup>2</sup> In German, the verb to see is active in *Er sieht den Mann*, but becomes passive in meaning in *Er sieht schlecht aus*. Different —though perhaps ultimately connected with this active/passive neutrality of the stem of the verb— are the instances in which the verb form seems neutral or ambiguous because of the surrounding construction. The best known neutralization of the active/passive contrast of this type is the one of the infinitive after verbs like *let* (*laisser, lasciare*), *hear* (*entendre, uddire*), *see* (*voir, vedere*), etc. As W. Meyer-Lübke pointed out,<sup>3</sup> *ti udivo laudare, le hizo prender, je l'ai laissé chercher*, etc., are ambiguous statements as such. Only the larger context can make clear whether the infinitive used in those constructions carries an active or passive meaning.

The construction *faire* infinitive has been object of considerable research and discussion. Thus Professor Muller maintained the thesis

<sup>1</sup> J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* (Basel, 1926), II, 179.

<sup>2</sup> A. Blinkenberg, *Le problème de transitivité en français moderne* (Copenhagen, 1960), Chapter 3.

<sup>3</sup> W. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes* (Paris, 1900), III, pp. 24-25.

that the apparent "neutralization" of the active/passive contrast in the construction *faire faire* is actually the fossilized remnant of a confusion of active and passive infinitive which took place in Late Latin, originally only with first, second, and fourth conjugation verbs and for purely phonological reasons.<sup>4</sup> According to him, the apparently active infinitive of *je fais étudier le livre aux étudiants* is descendant from the Latin *studiari* and the preposition *à* in *aux étudiants* goes back to Latin *ab*. Professor Norberg,<sup>5</sup> on the other hand, maintained that the *aux étudiants* in the above construction goes back to the Latin dative and that the infinitive presents an extension of the Latin infinitive of purpose. I have treated this problem in an article<sup>6</sup> in which I pointed out that the confusion of active and passive infinitive seems to be the more logical explanation of the Romance construction and that this confusion (between *amari* and *amare*) could have taken place even on Italian soil in regions where Latin final *-i* and *-e* were, kept distinct.

The confusion of active and passive infinitive due to the loss of contrasts between final vowels was undoubtedly a contributing factor in the loss of the synthetic passive and the emergence of the *faire faire quelque chose à quelqu'un* construction. Yet, it seems rather hazardous to contend as for instance H. F. Muller has done<sup>7</sup> that the breakdown of the entire passive system of Latin started from the confusion of active and passive infinitive and that the purely phonetic factor of confusion between the two infinitives is solely responsible for the active/passive confusion which occurs in this construction. While Muller demonstrated quite successfully that the confusion of active and passive is textually first attested with infinitives of the first, second, and fourth conjugation, we must also keep in mind that once the Latin synthetic passive had been lost in speech, the forms

<sup>4</sup> H.-F. Muller, *Origine et histoire de la préposition "à" dans les locutions du type "faire faire quelque chose à quelqu'un"*, Poitiers, 1912; also *idem*, *A Chronology of Vulgar Latin* (Halle, 1929), 75 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Dag Norberg, "*Faire faire quelque chose à quelqu'un*", *recherches sur l'origine de la construction romane*, Sprakvetens Kapliga Sälls Kapets Förlag (Uppsala, 1943-45), Bilaga E, 65-106.

<sup>6</sup> R. L. Politzer, "Far fare qualche cosa", *Word*, V (1949), 258-261.

<sup>7</sup> H. F. Muller, "The Passive Voice in Vulgar Latin", *Romanic Review*, XIV (1924), 68-93; also *Chronology*, pp. 75 ff.

of the active infinitive were of all the "living" verb form those most closely resembling a passive form (namely the passive infinitive). Thus, in any attempt to use Latin synthetic passive forms, interference coming from the spoken language would most likely show up in the forms of the infinitive (e. g. *amare* for *amari*) rather than in the finite forms of the verbs like *amatur*, *amabantur*, etc., which are quite distinctive. They could have been used correctly not because they were still alive in the spoken language but simply because the spoken language had no morphological endings with which they could be confused.

In trying to understand the history of the active/passive neutralization which occurs in the *faire faire* construction, it is well to keep in mind that—as H. F. Muller has pointed out so correctly<sup>8</sup>—the Latin synthetic passive was in a sense never replaced in the Romance languages by an analytic construction. *Homo occiditur* does not become *homo occisus est*; the analytic passive, formed with the perfective past participle, cannot in any way convey the imperfective aspect of the Latin synthetic passive. The real Romance equivalents of *homo occiditur* are expressions like *on tue un homme*, *se mata a un hombre*, etc. Now, the Romance analytic passive infinitive *essere ucciso*, *être tué*, etc., is also perfective. This means that in certain constructions, e. g., after verbs like *facere*, *audire*, *laxare*, etc., which, because of their very meaning, seem to preclude the use of a perfective infinitive alter them, it could not replace the Latin passive (imperfective) infinitive. In a construction like *j'entends chanter la chanson* or *je fais chanter la chanson* the infinitive cannot be conceived of as a perfective (completed) action. Thus it seems that with the breakdown of the Latin imperfective synthetic passive system, Romance speech found itself, in certain syntactical constructions, in a *détresse* situation: *Amatur* could be replaced by *homo amat* (*on l'aime*), but the problem of replacing *cantari* in a construction like *iubeo (facio) carmen cantari* was not capable of the same kind of solution. If the construction was to be preserved at all, it could be done only through the use of the active for the passive infinitive—through the neutralization of the active/passive contrast.

<sup>8</sup> Muller, *Origine et histoire*, p. 57.

In support of the above contention, we should like to mention a well known fact which, however, has usually not been connected with the problem under discussion. The *détrese* situation which was brought about by the absence of a *non-perfective* passive infinitive is paralleled by a situation which had existed in Latin all along in the system of the participle: Latin had always lacked a present passive participle. The Late Latin writers of the sixth to eighth century solved the problem of the lack of a present passive participle in the same way in which they solved the lack of the present passive infinitive: they used the active participle with passive meaning. Expressions like *in loco nuncupante* or *casa exercente per gunduratur, casa regente per Viatore*, etc., are quite numerous in Late Latin texts.<sup>9</sup> Certainly we are dealing here with a purely synthetical phenomenon without foundation in any purely phonetic confusion. Once more, the fact that we are dealing primarily with an active/passive neutralization or the use of an active form for a passive one seems attested by the following: Late Latin scribes use the present participle with passive meaning in the same constructions in which also the active infinitive can be used passively: *eum dare video* can mean 'I saw him give' or 'being given'. This construction can be replaced by *eum dante video* (I saw him give, or being given). Thus, the scribes of the documents of the *Codice diplomatico longobardo*<sup>10</sup> use quite regularly the following type of witnessing formulas: *Ego Benetidus ... testis subscripsi et suprascriptos solidos dante vidi* (No. 45, Piza, 730 A. D.), *Ego gaudentius ante presentem testium ipso suprascripto soledo dante vidi* (No. 76, Lucca, 739 A. D.), or using the infinitive in the same construction, *vel ipso pretio auri soledos XX in presenti dare vidi* (No. 56, Lucca, 736 A. D.), *et suprascriptos solidos dare vidi* (No. 153, Brescia, 761 A. D.).

It is also of interest to note that this particular way of solving the problem created by the absence of an imperfective present passive

<sup>9</sup> See M. A. Pei, *The Language of the Eighth Century Texts in Northern France* (New York, 1932), 263; R. L. Politzer, *A Study of the Language of Eighth Century Lombardic Documents* (New York, 1949), 117; also E. Diez, *Grammaire des langues romanes* (Paris, 1876), III, 191.

<sup>10</sup> *Codice diplomatico longobardo*, ed. L. Schiaparelli (Rome, 1929, 1933), vols. I and II.

participle form is generally not the one chosen by Classical Latin. Classical Latin does not use the present participle with passive meaning, but solves this *détresse* situation by the use of deponents, passive paraphrases (relative clauses) or the use of the gerundive.<sup>11</sup> Occasionally Classical Latin writers will use the past participle to supply a present passive participle (e. g. *Notus evolat picea tectus*—being covered!—*caligine vultum*; Ovid, *Met.*, I. 264).<sup>12</sup> But if a present participle occurs with a passive meaning (e. g. *pereuntes*, quoted by Hirt<sup>13</sup>), this passivity is due clearly to the initially mentioned passivity of the root rather than to a passive use of the participle as such.

To conclude with a reflection and an observation which is not new—as a matter of fact it was made by J. Grimm a century ago<sup>14</sup>: The use of the present infinitive and present participle with passive meaning has a long and uninterrupted history in the Germanic languages, in which the *détresse* created by the absence of present passive infinitives and participle has existed since the very earliest times. It is well known that even the earliest Gothic has only the barest remnants of a synthetic passive and gives examples of the passive use of active infinitives. The use of active infinitives with apparently passive meaning after verbs such as *hear*, *let*, *see* is attested already in Anglosaxon, Old High German, etc. Passively used present participles appear in Gothic, Saxon, Old High German, etc.<sup>15</sup> To prove above and beyond any doubt that the Romance construction was caused by Germanic influence would be extremely difficult: Grimm, for instance, was satisfied with pointing out the Romance-Germanic parallel in the passive use of the present participle and infinitive, but was also quick to add that Classical Latin contained already the possibility of the passive use of an active infinitive in constructions like *agnam caedere deinde iubet solvique ex ordine fumen* (*Aeneid*, V. 773).<sup>16</sup> Now it is of course perfectly true that

<sup>11</sup> See F. Blatt, *Précis de Syntaxe latine* (Paris, 1952), 212, 219.

<sup>12</sup> This example is quoted by G. Bartholomew, *A Grammar of the Latin Language* (New York, 1873), 323.

<sup>13</sup> H. Hirt, *Handbuch des Urgermanischen* (Heidelberg, 1934), III, 114.

<sup>14</sup> J. Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*, 9th ed. (Gutersloh, 1898), IV, 59 ff.

<sup>15</sup> See Grimm, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-66; Hirt, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

<sup>16</sup> Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

the passive use of the active infinitive and participle could have arisen in Latin without Germanic intervention. At the same time, however, we should not expect that the influence which a superstratum could exert in realms of morphology or syntax would ever take the form of the brutal imposition of a foreign pattern upon the exposed language. The superstratum influence, it seems, would most likely take hold in an area in which the other language was ready to be influenced—in which the pattern of the other language allowed for a latitude of expression. As I have tried to show in another article dealing with Germanic superstratum in Romance, the Germanic influence did not necessarily consist in the imposing of a Germanic pattern but in influencing a hesitating Latin to go in one direction rather than the other.<sup>17</sup> The fact remains that the active/passive neutralizations which we have discussed here appear with any amount of frequency only at a time and place when Germanic influence was feasible—they do not for instance appear in Rumanian—and the undisputed center of this active/passive neutralization seems Northern France, which is evidently the focus of Germanic influence upon Romance.<sup>18</sup> Thus the passive use of the active present participle seems either absent or extremely rare in Spanish and Italian,<sup>19</sup> but is, as A. Tobler has shown in a well known and well documented study,<sup>20</sup> firmly entrenched in Old French which furnishes numerous examples of the passively used present participle not only as modifier

<sup>17</sup> R. L. Politzer, "On the Romance Third Person Possessives", *Word*, VIII (1925), 65-71: Latin hesitated between the use of *suus* and *eorum* (> *illorum*) for a third person plural possessive. The influence of the Germanic use of a pronominal genitive (*iro*) decided the choice of *eorum* (> *illorum*) in France.

<sup>18</sup> See, for instance, W. v. Wartburg, *Die Ausgliederung der romanischen Sprachräume* (Bern, 1950), 110 ff; *idem*, "Umfang und Bedeutung der germanischen Siedlung in Nordgallien im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert in Spiegel der Sprache und Ortsnamen", *Vorträge und Schriften der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaft zur Berlin*, XXXVI (1950); A. Meillet, *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*, (Paris, 1938), II, 90-102.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. G. Rohlfs, *Historische Grammatik der italienischen Sprache*, (Bern, 1949), II, 557. In Spanish the present participle survives almost exclusively as an obvious latinism. Cf. F. Hanssen, *Gramática histórica de la lengua castellana* (Halle, 1913), 250.

<sup>20</sup> "Participia praesentis mit Ausartung des Sinnes" in A. Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge zur französischen Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1886), 32 ff.

of the noun (e. g. *dieus mecreans*=*dieu auquel il ne faut pas croire*) but also in constructions in which it alternates with the passively used active infinitive (e. g. *faire entendre*=*faire entendant*<sup>21</sup>).

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<sup>21</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-23.



## FRENCH *PIFRE*, *FIFRE*

By PAUL W. BROSMAN, JR.

THE WORDS *PIFRE* and *fifre* are both attested for the first time in French texts of the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The meaning of both was 'pipe, fife, piper, fifer'. *Pifre* did not survive the century of its first occurrence (at least in its original meaning), while *fifre* has remained unchanged as the current French word for 'fife' and 'fifer'. Their appearance of relationship has been universally accepted, as has the belief that each is in some way connected to an earlier form of NHG *Pfeifer* 'piper, fifer'. Concerning the nature of the connection of the French words to one another and to their Germanic etymon (and, indeed, the identity of the etymon), there is considerable diversity of opinion, however. That *pifre* served as the basis for *em-piffrer* 'gorge, make or become fat' and *piffre* 'glutton, obese person, paunch' is a further view which is rather widely, but not universally, held. Ital. *piffero*, Sp. *pifaro*, Ptg. *pifaro*, Cat. *piffer*, *pifre* 'fife, fifer' are all words which are thought to have had a history similar to that of the French forms and which must be taken into account in any consideration of the problem.

Meyer-Lübke derives *pifre* and the forms of the other Romance languages from MHG *pifer* 'piper, fifer'.<sup>2</sup> He thus accounts for the initial *p* of both *pifre* and the forms outside French by ascribing *p* to a common High German etymon. He is followed in this, with respect to Ital. *piffero* alone, by Battisti and Alessio<sup>3</sup>. Dialectal variation such as that between *pifer* and *pfifer* (>*Pfeifer*) is to be ex-

<sup>1</sup> Oscar Bloch and Walther von Wartburg, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* (Paris, 1932) I, 251, 298.

<sup>2</sup> Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3rd. ed. (Heidelberg, 1935), 535.

<sup>3</sup> Carlo Battisti and Giovanni Alessio, *Dizionario etimologico italiano* (Florence, 1954), IV, 2914.

pected in Old and Middle High German and *pifer* is in fact attested.<sup>4</sup> Meyer-Lübke, however, describes *pifer* simply as High German, without further identification as to dialect, a designation which he otherwise applies uniformly to words with shifted *pf*.<sup>5</sup> It is perhaps for this reason that he does not rely upon variation within Germanic to account for the initial *f* of *fifre*. The latter form he does not attempt to explain.

Bloch and Wartburg consider *fifre*, rather than *pifre*, to be paired with Ital. *piffero* as the direct result of borrowing from Germanic.<sup>6</sup> In their discussion of *pif(f)re*, the Germanic source of neither is identified or described in greater detail. Nor are they certain whether a single Germanic etymon supplied both Romance forms. In the case of *fifre*, however, it is clear that this view requires that the borrowed form have contained *pf*, so long as no other factor is involved, for initial Gmc. *p* certainly entered French as *p*. It is therefore consistent phonologically that under *fifre* the etymon of *fifre* alone is described as Swiss German.<sup>7</sup> *Pifre* is accounted for by Bloch and Wartburg as a borrowing by French of the Italian form.

Gamillscheg agrees with Bloch and Wartburg in considering *pifre* a borrowing of Ital. *piffero* rather than one made directly from Germanic.<sup>8</sup> He is more explicit as to the source of *piffero*, however, stating that it is MHG *pfifer*. He must therefore assume that HG *pf* > Ital. *p*. Corominas attributes Sp. *pífar* and the other forms with initial *p* (including *pifre*) to the same etymon, but is uncertain as to how direct a route *pífar* followed in reaching Spanish.<sup>9</sup> Of the two scholars, only Gamillscheg treats *fifre*. He is uncertain whether it represents a separate borrowing from Germanic,

<sup>4</sup> Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1872), II, 244.

<sup>5</sup> Meyer-Lübke, 1169-70 and references.

<sup>6</sup> Bloch and Wartburg, I, 251.

<sup>7</sup> Bloch and Wartburg, I, 298.

<sup>8</sup> Ernst Gamillscheg, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache* (Heidelberg, 1928), 353.

<sup>9</sup> Juan Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana* (Bern, 1954), III, 804.

with a distinctive French reflex of *pf*, or is a sporadic by-product of *pifre* resulting from assimilation within French of *p > f*.<sup>10</sup>

The problem is created by the presence in French of two forms of what seems clearly to have been one word in origin. Its answer is probably to be found in the history of the object which the word denoted. After having existed for centuries the musical pipe underwent during the late Middle Ages a specialization in form and function at the hands of German-speaking Swiss soldiers.<sup>11</sup> The result, the military fife, was distinctive enough to bring about the introduction into English of the word 'fife' for the purpose of its designation with precision greater than that afforded by the more general 'pipe', the English cognate of its etymon.<sup>12</sup>

Throughout its existence French, unlike English, has been in constant contact with High German speech. In a recent note I attempted to show that the problems involved in the etymology of OF *dancier* are to be explained as due to the form's having been borrowed from the Rhine Franconian dialect of Old High German. In so doing I gave reasons for considering Rhine Franconian to have been generally the most likely source of borrowing from Old High German into French.<sup>13</sup> Later shifts of population brought Alemanian into contention for this role during the Middle High German period. Contact with Rhine Franconian and the consequent likelihood of borrowing from that dialect were never lost, however. As in the case of *dancier*, the Rhine Franconian form (*pfifer*) of High German *pfifer* was distinguished from the 'standard' form and those 'higher' by failure to shift the initial consonant, though the consonant in the interior did undergo shifting.<sup>14</sup> From the point of view

<sup>10</sup> Gamillscheg, 417; the form in *pf*- he identifies as *pfife* 'pipe' though he refers elsewhere to the agent noun (*pfifer*), the form consistently employed by the other scholars.

<sup>11</sup> Leonardo de Lorenzo, *Complete Story of the Flute* (New York, 1951), 6-7; Cristopher Welch, *Six Lectures on the Recorder* (London, 1911), 232-5.

<sup>12</sup> Philologists of English are uncertain whether 'fife' was borrowed from French or directly from High German; see James A. H. Murray, et al. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1933), IV, 198.

<sup>13</sup> Paul W. Brosman, *Romance Notes*, II (1961), 141-6.

<sup>14</sup> Wilhelm Braune, *Abriß der althochdeutschen Grammatik* 88-22 (Halle, 1950).

of the usual historical and geographic factors, uncomplicated by special cultural or technological influence, the French form for 'piper' to be expected as the result of borrowing from Old High German, and at worst a likely result at any subsequent time, is therefore *pifre*. A point which should not be ignored is that aside from the parallelism of their formal treatment, 'dance' and 'pipe' belonged to the same narrow sphere of activity, for which reason borrowing from the same dialect is rendered more plausible. However, the discrepancy between the dates of first attestation of the two words in French should cause us to hesitate to make use of this point in the absence of additional evidence. In the Alemannian dialect spoken in Switzerland the form of the word for 'piper' was *pfifer*, identical to that of the 'standard' variety. Introduction into French of the High German word for 'piper' as a concomitant of cultural borrowing of the peculiarly Swiss variety of pipe would therefore plausibly have resulted in *fifre*. In view of the preceding it is not surprising that French, like English, had two forms of the word for 'piper'.<sup>15</sup> Nor is it surprising that these should be *pifre* and *fifre*. That Ital. *piffero* was borrowed as a designation for the Swiss fife at approximately the same time as *pfifer* was borrowed for the same purpose seems an unnecessary assumption. It is also appropriate that it is *pifre*, rather than the more specialized *fifre*, which is held to

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<sup>15</sup> An aspect of the problem which merits attention, but which seems to have caused little concern is that in every language but English it is the word for 'fifer' which has been borrowed in the meaning of both 'fife' and 'fifer', while the corresponding word for 'fife' does not occur. Metonymy alone is not a satisfactory explanation, for Italian produced *pifferaro* as an explicit word for 'fifer'. It probably was a factor, however, by bringing the forms into occasional interchange so as to set the stage for the influence of words such as Fr. *timbre*, *citre* and Ital. *cetera* to bring about the selection of the survivor. That *piffero* continued to be used as 'fifer' can account for the retention of its gender in Italian. That a feminine form in *-a*, *pifferra*, is attested for the instrument in the fourteenth century (Battisti and Alessio, loc. cit.) supports the suggestion of the influence of *cetera*. The frequent phrasal linking of words for different musical instruments made them particularly susceptible to mutual influence of this sort, as the history of several such words shows. The example which lies closest to hand is Sp. *pifano*, created as an alternant form of *pifaro* on the model of *timpano*, which itself has the variant *tinjano* (Corominas, loc. cit.) Only English, where the pattern of *pipe* / *piper* already existed, escaped this influence.

have served as the basis for additional words in French involving an extension of the meaning of 'pipe'.<sup>16</sup>

In the case of *piffero* itself, first attested in the fourteenth century,<sup>17</sup> the Alemannian dialect which should normally have served as the source of borrowing by Italian and the dialect of the area of origin of the fife coincided. That there should have been a single Italian form is as it should be. That the form is *piffero* indicates that the Italian reflex of High German *pf* was, as Gamillscheg apparently assumed, *p*. Since there appears to be nothing to stand in the way of such a conclusion,<sup>18</sup> it is probable that the Italian form was borrowed from Alemannian. The other Romance words all stem ultimately from a source which must have been High German, as the shifted *f* shows. Since the languages in which they are found were not normally in contact with High German, they must have been

<sup>16</sup> These suggestions cannot be considered certain, however. Bloch-Wartburg and Gamillscheg both hold that Fr. *empiffrer* and *piffrer* 'glutton' are derived from *pif(f)re* 'pipe'. The reasons given are, respectively, a jocular reference to the gullet as a pipe and a cross with OF *brifer* 'devour'. With respect to the latter proposal it is obvious, of course, that with or without the influence of *brifer*, a comparison of the gullet to a pipe must have been involved. Meyer-Lübke is content to point to the possibility of a relationship without attempting a decision. In the present state of the evidence, this course seems the only one which can be taken, for while the analogy of the gullet seems sufficiently plausible on the surface, it suffers from the fact that there is no other indication that *piffrer* was taken into French as 'pipe' in the sense of 'conduit'. More recently Wartburg has definitely rejected the etymologies. *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Tübingen, 1958), VIII, 443-5, citing a large number of words containing the element *pif*-which occur with a variety of meanings in various French dialects, both modern and much earlier. Wartburg finds in all these words, among which he includes *empiffrer* and *piffrer*, a common element of contempt and considers all to be of expressive origin. Wartburg's theory has certainly not been established, for he offers nothing to support it but the large number of words which it is designed to explain. His words require consideration, however; all must be studied before a conclusion can be reached concerning any. The concern of the present article is confined to the point that the original suggestion of Bloch and Wartburg is satisfactory phonologically, for it is based upon 'pipe' in its general sense and should therefore show the *p* of the unshifted Rhine Franconian form.

<sup>17</sup> Battisti and Alessio, *loc. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> Because of the rarity of Gmc. \**p* and the presumed occurrence in Italy of Lombard, in which *p* is thought to have remained unshifted initially, no certain Italian reflex of High German initial *pf* occurs.

conveyed by the fife in its travels.<sup>19</sup> The possibility of direct borrowing from German is not for this reason ruled out; the presence of companies of Swiss mercenaries in the armies of most of the nations of Western Europe, which began in the fifteenth century, was undoubtedly the most important cause of the suddenness with which familiarity with the fife spread so soon after the development of the instrument. That the words were borrowed from Italian is, however, also probable. The close relations which existed between Italy and the Iberian peninsula during and after the period of the development of the fife would lend equal credibility to such a conclusion. A rigid distinction between the roles of the two potential sources would probably be artificial. Contact with the object and with the word as well could have come about concurrently through both Swiss and Italians. In the case of the word, however, it seems likely that Italian influence was the more decisive factor in producing the attested results, for the introduction of what little linguistic evidence there is swings the balance in favor of Italy. More convincing than the uniform result of *p-* from the unfamiliar High German initial *pf-* is the fact that direct borrowings from German would require that the analogy based upon words such as *cetera* have been repeated independently several additional times over with precisely the same results. Moreover, it was only in Italy that the by-product of the process, the feminine in *-era*, appeared.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> That the date of the earliest attestation of Sp. *pifaro* is 1517 (Corominas, *loc. cit.*) is consistent with this assumption.

<sup>20</sup> Forms in *-aro*, as opposed to *-ero*, are attested in Italy both early and, dialectally, late; see Giulio Cappuccini and Bruno Migliorini, *Vocabulario della lingua italiana* (Turin, 1958), 1138.

## A NOTE ON THE CHANGE OF [h-] TO [r-] IN NORMANDY

By RALPH PAUL DE GOROG

WALTHER VON WARTBURG, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, XVI, 112b traces Norm. *hague* 'fruit de l'aubépine', *rhague*, id., /ragye/ 'aubépine' (patois of Deux-Jumeaux, Calvados), etc. to Old English *haga* 'haw, hawthorn berry', adding that ON *bagþorn* 'hawthorn' could also be considered.<sup>1</sup> As for the form *rhague*, this is explained by von Wartburg as follows: "*r-* wohl durch *-s-* > *-r-* aus *des hagues*". In the present paper it will be demonstrated that this explanation, which seems to be based on the Norman lexicographers', E. and A. Duméril's spelling of the Norman word in question, is unnecessary in view of the occurrence of the same phenomenon in other Norman words derived from a Germanic etymon in *b-*. First of all, it must be mentioned that *b-* is still pronounced in words of Germanic origin in some Norman localities.<sup>2</sup> That *-s-* should develop to *-r-* is unlikely under these circumstances, and what is more, *-s* is not pronounced in Normandy before aspirate *h*. Map 691 of the *ALF*, for example, shows that *les hêtres* is pronounced in Normandy either as /le hetr/, /le etr/, or /lez etr/, but not as /lez hetr/. The spelling *rhague* used by E. and A. Duméril, *Dictionnaire du patois normand* (Caen, 1849) indicates a type of uvular *r* which Nyrop described as being close to the German *ch*.<sup>3</sup> There is no reason to

<sup>1</sup> For reasons of economy, a phonemic spelling is used here where the *FEW* and the *ALF* use phonetic symbols which would be difficult to reproduce. Cf. n. 2 below.

<sup>2</sup> J. Gilliéron and E. Edmont, *Atlas linguistique de la France* (Paris, 1903-1910). See, for example, Maps 680, 681, 683, 684, 687, 689, 690, and 691.

<sup>3</sup> K. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française* (Copenhagen, 1904), I, 430. Mention is made here of the Norman pronunciation *rée*, *ramè*, *rankar*, *ronte*, and *rou* for Fr. *haie*, *hameau*, *hangar*, *bonte*, and *houx*, respectively; of these only the last one is listed in the *FEW* as Norman; *rangar* is

explain *rhague* as the outcome of the Norman pronunciation of *des bagues*; to say that *s* developed into *r* places too much importance on the orthography the Dumérils happened to use. They could just as well have written \**rague*, as other lexicographers have done with other Norman words with *r*- from Germanic *b*-.

If we examine the *ALF*, other examples of *r*- < *b*- can be found. On Map 680 "la hache", we find locality 351 (Saint-Georges-du-Vièvre, Eure) has both /haš/ and /raš/, and locality 330 (Beaumont-le-Roger, Eure) has /,haš/ with a small *r* indicating a strongly aspirated *b* approaching a uvular *r*. Similarly Map 684 "harnais" has /arne/ and /,harne/ respectively for the same two localities, whereas the predominant forms elsewhere in Normandy seem to be /harne/ and /arne/. Again, Map 687 "hérison" gives /rerišō/ both for Saint-Georges-du-Vièvre and for locality 354 (Beuvron-en-Auge, Cambremer, Calvados); a form with /,h-/ is attested for Beaumont-le-Roger and for Villerville, Trouville, Calvados, locality 363 on the map. On Map 689 "herse", locality 351 has /rerš/, whereas locality 330 has /,hers/, the other localities mentioned above having /h-/ in these words. Map 690 "hêtre" and Map 691 "les hêtres" have /retr/ and /le retr/ respectively for Saint-Georges-du-Vièvre only. All of these words are of Germanic origin, and the pronunciation of *b*- which existed in older French and whose effect is still felt in the absence of liaison before so-called "aspirate *b*", has survived in certain Norman localities as [h] or, more rarely, as [r]. Of course, words of Latin origin treated in the *ALF*, such as *habiter*, *herbe*, etc. are not attested with [h-] or [r-], and even a Germanic word like *hameau* (Map. 681) has no forms recorded with [r-] and very few with [h-]. The *ALF Supplément*, I (Paris, 1920), p. 103 also gives /rarā/ as the local form of *hareng* in Saint-Georges-du-Vièvre.

If we turn now to the *FEW*, we find a still larger number of patois words with [r-] from Germanic [h-]. Besides Norm. *rhague*, which was mentioned above, the *FEW*, XVI, 107 lists *rabresac* (patois of Châtillon-sur-Indre) as the local form of Fr. *bavresac* 'knapsack';

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given for Sologne, and the others are not mentioned. Apparently some Norman words with *r*- from Germanic *b*- are listed in the *FEW* as local dialect forms, but in the others the Norman [r-] was probably considered merely a local variant of [h-].



this is of course a much more recent word than the others discussed above, and the *r-* may indicate an attempt to imitate the initial phoneme of German *Habersack*; at any rate the *ALF* does not have *r-* in any words derived from Germanic words with *b-* in the patois of Berry. Similarly, the *FEW*, XVI, 137 gives *rambourg*, taken from J. Savary des Bruslons, *Dictionnaire universel de commerce, d'histoire naturelle, d'arts et de métiers* (Paris, 1723) as well as MFr., Fr. *hambourg* 'petite futaille où l'on met le saumon salé', of which the earliest examples are from Normandy; the name seems to be due to commerce between Hamburg and the Norman ports.

Fr. *hanneton* 'may-bug' is attested at Thaon, Calvados as *hāntō* and *rantō* (*FEW*, XVI, 143); no forms with *r-* were collected for the *ALF*, although Map 683 is devoted to this word. Fr. *hangar* 'shed, hangar' is attested as *rangar* in Sologne (*FEW*, XVI, 120), but no Norman form with *r-* is given. The *FEW*, XVI, 191 treats Pont-Audemer *ranter* 'fréquenter, frayer (un chemin)' as a derived form of Fr. *hanter*; since there is a noun in the patois of Pont-Audemer, *hant* 'cour qu'on fait à une femme', *ranter* is probably considered a Norman reflex of *\*rehanter*; but here again it would seem that *ranter* is merely a local pronunciation of *hanter*. The fact that *hant* is attested in the same locality is not significant: the *ALF* gives forms with both *b-* and *r-* on occasion for the same locality, and what is more, the Norman lexicographers did not by any means agree on the transcription of their local forms.

At Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, Valognes, Manche, the form *ra-venet* is locally attested for Fr. *havenet*, *haveneau* 'petit filet monté sur un cerceau' (*FEW*, XVI 112). Similarly, Fr. *houx* 'holly' is attested as *roux* in the Pays d'Auge (Calvados), and as /ru/ at Deux-Jumeaux (Calvados); cf. the *FEW*, XVI, 261b.

W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1935), 2920 was justified in connecting Norm. *aratiné* (in the expression *être aratiné de* 'vouloir quelque chose à tout prix') with OF *aatir* 'défier', since the latter is also attested as *abatir* (cf. *FEW*, XVI, 179a); it would seem, then, that Norm. *aratiné* is the local patois of Thaon pronunciation of the same root as OF *\*abatiner*; cf. OF *aatiner* 'harceler, tourmenter', and also the OF noun *aatie* 'provocation, défi' with such variant spellings as *abatie*, *abaitie*, etc. It is to be noted that OF *abatir* is historically the older form; *aatir* has been explained

through influence of OF *aate* 'vif, rapide' (< *adaptus*) in the *FEW*, XVI, 180a.

The examples of Norman [r-] from a Germanic [h-] are all quite recent, the 1723 example *rambourg* (< *hambourg*) being the earliest. So far not a single example of this phenomenon has been brought to light in the studies of early Norman place-names and personal names.<sup>4</sup> If it could be proved that some Normans pronounced *h-* as [r-] as early as the thirteenth century, it might be possible to reconsider the etymology of Fr. *rogue* 'arrogant, haughty'. Diez and Meyer-Lübke traced it to an ON adjective which they defined as 'anmassend' (arrogant) but such an ON adjective is nowhere attested; there is an ON *brókr* 'crow' however<sup>5</sup>. W. von Wartburg, *FEW*, XVI, 249b cites the etymology proposed by Diez and Meyer-Lübke, but prefers an ON *brokr* which he defines as 'Übermass, Unverschämtheit'. Jóhannesson does not list this word, but does give *brókr* 'hervorragende Person', and also *broki* 'gehäuftes Mass' (cf. pp. 231, 834). The *FEW* mentions a weak form of *brokr*: *broke*, and suggests that the substantive became an adjective when the word was taken into French. Since *-r* is a flexional ending, it should be said in passing that there seems to be no reason for the need for a weak form to explain Fr. *rogue*.

The problem of the origin of Fr. *rogue* is mentioned here because of the fact that there is a Norman patois *hogue* 'fort, fier' which the *FEW*, XVI, 218b derives from ON *hægr* 'passend, bequem'.<sup>6</sup> Now

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Jean Adigard des Gautries, "Les noms de lieux de la Manche attestés entre 911 et 1066", *Annales de Normandie*, I (Caen, 1951), 9-44; "Les noms de lieux des îles anglo-normandes attestés entre 911 et 1066", *Annales de Normandie*, II (1952), 27-33; "Les noms de lieux du Calvados attestés entre 911 et 1066", *Annales de Normandie*, II (1952), 209-228; III (1953), 22-36, 135-148; "Les noms de lieux de l'Eure attestés entre 911 et 1066", *Annales de Normandie*, IV (1954), 39-59, 237-255; V (1955), 15-33; "Les noms de lieux de la Seine-Maritime attestés entre 911 et 1066", *Annales de Normandie*, VI (1956), 119-134, 223-244; VII (1957), 135-158; VIII (1958), 299-322; IX (1959), 151-167, and 273-283. For personal names, cf. Jean Adigard des Gautries, *Les noms de personnes scandinaves en Normandie de 911 à 1066* (Lund, 1954).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Alexander Jóhannesson, *Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern, 1956), p. 231.

<sup>6</sup> This is the orthography in Jóhannesson, p. 179, which differs slightly from that in the *FEW*.

OF *rogue* is attested in the sense 'qui est d'une raideur hautaine', and in the Vallée d'Yères (Seine-Maritime) *rogué* 'fier, orgueilleux, courroucé' is attested. There is a possibility that the form attested in Calvados, *hogue*, is the same word as *rogue*, which the dialect lexicographer did not recognize as such. This could be explained in several ways: either as a back-formation, since [h-] in one locality was often equivalent to [r-] in another locality in Normandy, at least in words of Germanic origin; or else *hogue* is a reflection of the Norman pronunciation of [r-], which some writers have thought similar to the German *ch*. A third possibility, impossible to prove without evidence of earlier pronunciation of *h-* as [r-] in Normandy, would be that *hogue* is the original Romance form which, with the pronunciation *rogue*, passed into Francien. On the basis of personal observations in the Pays de Caux this writer, having heard some speakers pronounce *Robert* as a strongly aspirated /hober/, is inclined to believe that *hogue* is just a local pronunciation of *rogue*.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> In Locality 363, Fr. *roter* is attested as /hute/, *roue* is attested as /rhu/, and *ruche* is attested as /rhüş/. See Maps 1169, 1170, and 1174. On the other hand, all the other French words with *r-* included in the *ALF* were collected with /r-/ in Locality 363 and elsewhere in Normandy; cf. Maps 1125 to 1171. In *roter*, *roue*, and *ruche*, there is a suggestion of a merger of *r-* and *h-* of Germanic origin in the one locality mentioned but such a merger only affected a few words. We shall have to conclude that for some speakers in Normandy [r-] is a variant of [h-].

EL PRIMER VOCABULARIO DE CUBANISMOS  
de  
A. LÓPEZ MATOSO

Por DANIEL WOGAN

NOTA PRELIMINAR

EL PEQUEÑO VOCABULARIO de cubanismos que aquí damos a conocer está tomado de un manuscrito de principios del siglo XIX perteneciente a la colección del Middle American Research Institute de la Universidad de Tulane. Titúlase el manuscrito *Viaje de perico ligero al país de los moros*. El "perico ligero" del curioso título alude al apodo del author, A. López Matoso, y el "país de los moros" hace referencia a Ceuta, en la costa de Marruecos, donde López temía que hubiese de terminar sus andanzas de exilado político.

El licenciado A. López Matoso, antiguo relator de la Audiencia de México, fue desterrado por orden del virrey Calleja en 1816. López llegó a la Habana el 16 de octubre de 1817, permaneciendo en esa hasta el 15 de mayo de 1820, cuando le fue posible repatriarse gracias al indulto concedido por el sucesor de Calleja, el virrey Apodaca.

Los regionalismos recogidos por López constituyen el primer vocabulario de cubanismos puesto que anticipan por lo menos diez y seis años la edición inicial del diccionario de Esteban Pichardo (Matanzas, 1836).

Según nos refiere el mismo López en los primeros capítulos de su diario, era oriundo de la meseta central mexicana, región de la cual jamás había salido antes de su destierro en 1816. Su formación lingüística, pues, fue la del mexicano del interior, de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII y principios del XIX, ya que es probable que frisara en los 60 ó 65 años al llegar a la Habana.

A pesar del estilo joco-serio y la falta de todo criterio científico, el pequeño vocabulario que reunió López, además del interés que ofrece para la geografía lingüística, es de positivo valor para la documentación de algunos aspectos del habla familiar cubana a principios del siglo XIX.

Señalamos con asteriscos las expresiones que no figuran en la última edición de Pichardo (*Pichardo novísimo o diccionario provincial casi razonado de voces y frases cubanas*, La Habana, 1953) o que aparecen en su diccionario con importantes diferencias semánticas.

## VOCABULARIO

El idioma y los nombres técnicos de los avaneros es una monserga de el diablo.

*Anones* son las anonas q. en nada se distinguen de las nuestras.

*Ajiaco* es un guiso de baca, tazajo, platano, jamón, yuca, muniato, y mucha especería.

*Alegria* es maíz crudo tostado asta q. revienta, y así sin más ni más se une con miel en unas pelotas.

\* *Anafe* es el brasero de lumbre para cigarillo.

*Aji* es el chile. Los ají de todas clases; grandes y dulces que se comen crudos y no saben mal; o encurtidos en vinagre: otros chicos amarillos muy picantes, q. saben a cucaracha.

\* *Belicas* llaman a las Ysabeles quizá porq. fueron haciendo diminutivos: de Ysabelitas, Ysabelicas, y de estas belicas.

\* *Bucaros* son las jicaras o tecomates.

*Bojios* son las casuchas de paja o jales.

*Bolantes* son las q. los Guachinangos dicen bolantes.

*Cajetes* son las naranjas agria-dulces de cáscara verde.

*Conchitas* son las Concepciones quizá porq. primero dijeron *conchón* y como esto era muy gordo lo achicaron en *conchita*.

*Candela* es la lumbre de cigarro o puro.

*Caimitos* son una fruta muy parecida en la figura al zopote blanco; pero su gusto es agri-dulce: la carne incipida, y el uso en un capullo como algodón q. es lo q. principal.\* se come y sabe bien.

*Crianderas* son las amas de leche q. los Guachinangos dicen chichiguas.

\* *Comadronas* son las parteras.

*Cativia* es la yuca mui delgada en dulce.

*Casavi* es la yuca grueza mui molida y echa masa de q. se forman unas grandes tortillas. Son un pan mui seco y terroso; pero en dulce, remojado con vino es mui deleitoso.

*Chunbos* llaman a los Geronimos.

*Chanos* a los Sebastianes.

\* *Cozinar* es guizar, y asi *cociname un par de uebos* es freirlos.

\* *Cbeleqe* es chaleco por q. suena mas curro lo primero.

\* *Corujo* es el coyote, el cual lo ablandan no se como y acen en dulce.

*Chico* es el octabo o tlaco.

\* *Contra* son unas monedas de ojalata con una seña de cada tienda en donde unicam.\* sirven y valen lo q. los pilones en Mejico.

\* *Cantinas* son las tiendas de comestibles, y en las q: se vende carbon y manteca se dicen *tabernas*.

*Funche* es una arina de maiz cocida la cual ò se guiza con arroz, gallina, ò carne de zerdo, ò se ace en dulce.

*Fuetes* son unos latigos delgados de tejido de cañamo ò de cuero mui duros mas q. garrotes. Al negro q. el amo condena a su antojo es con la pruden.\* de darle 100. ò 200 latigazos, ò sin señalar docis cascarle el tiempo de la voluntad. Tambien las negras se regalan con igual agazajo, aun cuando estàn preñadas. Si muere el paciente mas pierde el amo <sup>^</sup> q. es su dinero. Si escapa, mejor; mañana se repetirà la misma comedia.

\* *Fogon* es el fuego de la cocina.

*Flusion* es el catarro ò resfriado.

*Fletar* es frotar, y asi decir q. un enfermo se frotò con aceite; es diciendo q. se *fletò*.

*Guarapo* es el suco de la caña, ò miel sin fuego, y lo comien como un plato regalado.

*Guanajo* es el guajolote.

\* *Guachinango* es voz de desprecio à todos los nativos de Veracruz à todo el reino. Asi es q. hasta los negros unos a otros cuando acen una picardia se dicen: *esa es guachinangada*. Aun en la jente de rango es este jenial desprecio. El año de 818. parió la <sup>^</sup>sra. Yntendenta una niña a quien se puso por nonbre Guadalupe, y por cariño todos le deciamos *Guachinanguita*. Fuè a visitar a la <sup>^</sup>sra. otra de las señoronas, y acustumbrada aquella al cariño dicho; dijo a una criada: *traeme à la Guachinanguita*. Al verla la visita dijo con seriedad: *no le dee <sup>^</sup>vm. ese nonbre à esta niña ¿no vee <sup>^</sup>vm. que es blanca y bonita?*

*Guanabana* es una tercera entidad entre chirimoya y anona. La cascara en su color, delgado, y terso es de chirimoya aunq. un poco mas verde. La carne es una masa blanca mui semejante à la mas dulce chirimoya: la pepita esta dentro de un capullo como algodón de un agrio dulce mui gustoso. Se come natural, ò en agua con azucar, ò en dulce. De todos modos es mui sabrosa y mui fria. La cascara tiene unos votoncitos peqeños.

*Guano* son unas pencas del gruezo, color y tamaño q. las de magei, de las cuales acen los techados de las casas pobres, y las sacan de las ojas secas de la palma real.

*Guajiros* son los rancheros, ò payos del campo.

*Guiras* son tecomates.

Con mucha gracia eqibocan la *b* y la *j*; y así dicen *hardin* por *jardin*, *bornada* por *jornada*.

*Hotel* es la hospederia, ò posada por seguir la voz inglesa.

\* *Insultar* es acer tomar colera a otro; y asi: *fulano està insultado* es decir que està colerico.

*Jovos* son los mui pocos y malos tejocotes.

*Jaibas* son los cangrejos peqeños.

*Jabas* son los tonpiates, y *Jabusos* los chicos.

*Jutia* son los ratones del campo q. los comen como conejo.

*Manì* son los cacahuates.

*Muniato* es el camote.

*Mangos* son una fruta como zapotes amarillos: su carne amarilla mui ebrosa y cierto gusto à recina: el uesto està dentro de una tunica delgada pero dura como la de zapote blanco.

*Malanga* aunq. amarilla y grande es en todo una papa.

*Maloja* es el tlazole ò zacate de maiz.

*Melon de agua* es la zandía.

*Malarrabia* es un dulce mui sabroso de camote frito y miel.

\* *Manjarete* es un dulce de maiz molido cocido en leche.

*Mata-hambre* es la yuca mui molida y cocida en dulce.

*Maruga* es lo mismo que maula. *Tu reloz es maruga* es decir: que anda mal.

*Name* es la raíz del chayote.

*Palmitos* son los cohogollos de la palma mui blancos y tiernos y se comen en dulce.

*Palmiche* es una semilla q. produce la palma como pimienta grueza y sirve para engordar marranos.

*Palanquetas* son ponte-duro.

*Pacana* es la nuez criolla chica.

*Papagayos* son los papelotes de los muchachos.

*Quimbonbò* es una fruta q. tiene muchas pepitas redondas y pardas, las cuales se cocinan y dan una baba espesa y mui larga y se comen con carne de cerdo, gallina, etc.

La *r* y la *l* sienpre la pronuncian al rebes. *Armas del pulgatorio: almas de los sordaos: cerdas de monja: celdas de marrano.*

\* *Sumideros* son las letrinas.

*Tibor* es el vacin.

La letra *s* siempre la sincopan. En un conbite una señorita pidiò un *mulito* de gallina por decir un *muslito*.

*Tazajo*, aporreado es un guizo de *tazajo* en ebras pequeñas, baca, y platano frito.

*Tarros* son los cuernos.

*Virar* es moverse de un lado a otro.

\* *Vatarraba* ò *Vatarrabia* es el vetabel.

*Yo solo* es frace para decir q. se singulariza. *Yo solo me rei: yo solo llorè: yo solo comi*; quiere decir q. yo mas q. nadie rei, llorè, y comi.



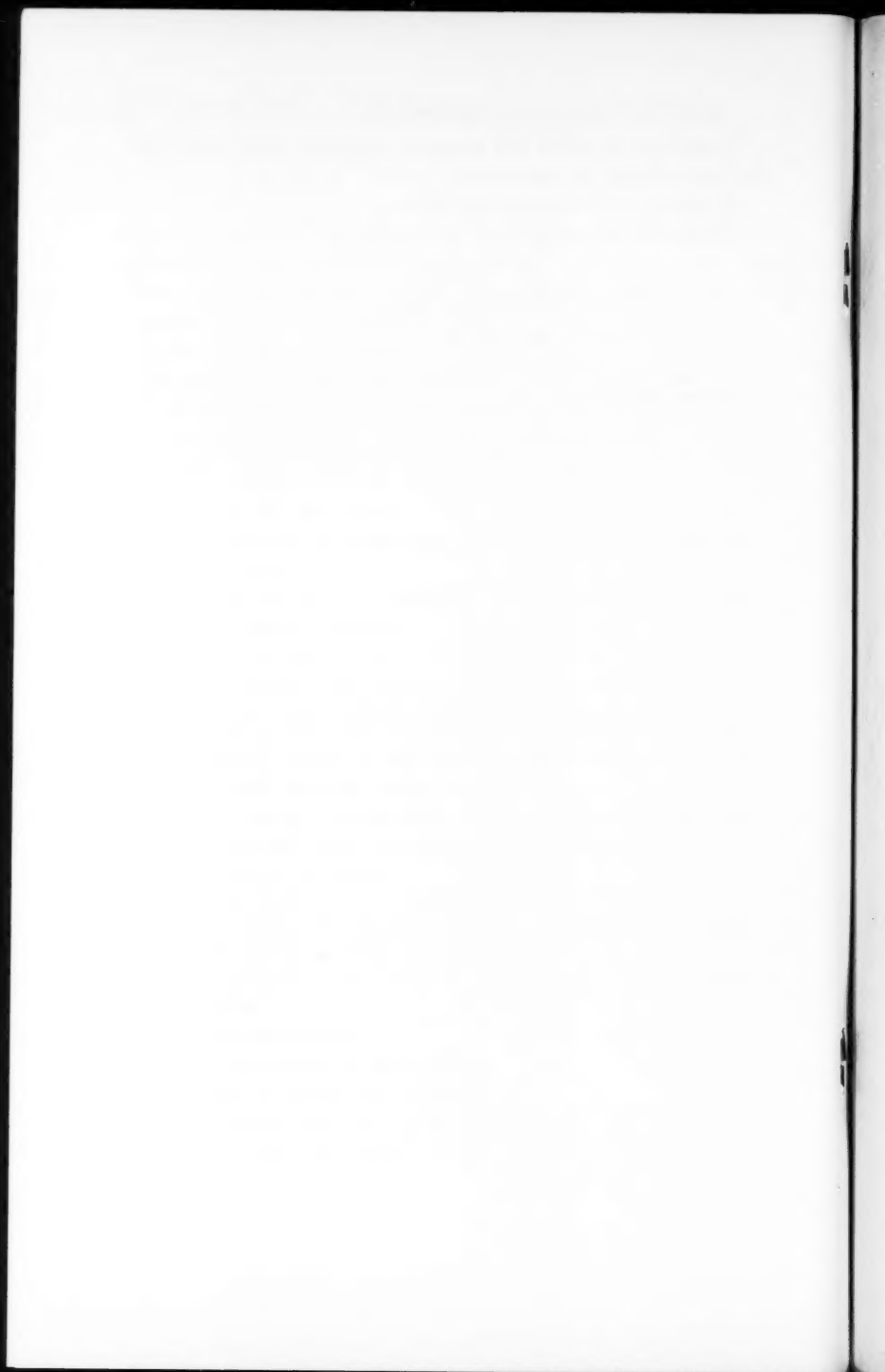
*Yaguas* son las pencas mui gruesas y grandes de palma real y sirven para techados de casas pobres.

*Ziguato* se dice al pezcado q. olisca.

*Ziguas* son los caracoles marinos que se comen.

Por aora no me recuerdo  
mas terminajos;  
si recordare algunos  
iràn volando.

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